HITLER IS DEAD, HITLERISM LIVES ON
OMER BARTOV

HOW HOWARD DEAN LOST IOWA
RYAN LIZZA

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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BRING IT ON?

Is Kerry That Much More Electable Than Dean?

MICHAEL GRUNWALD

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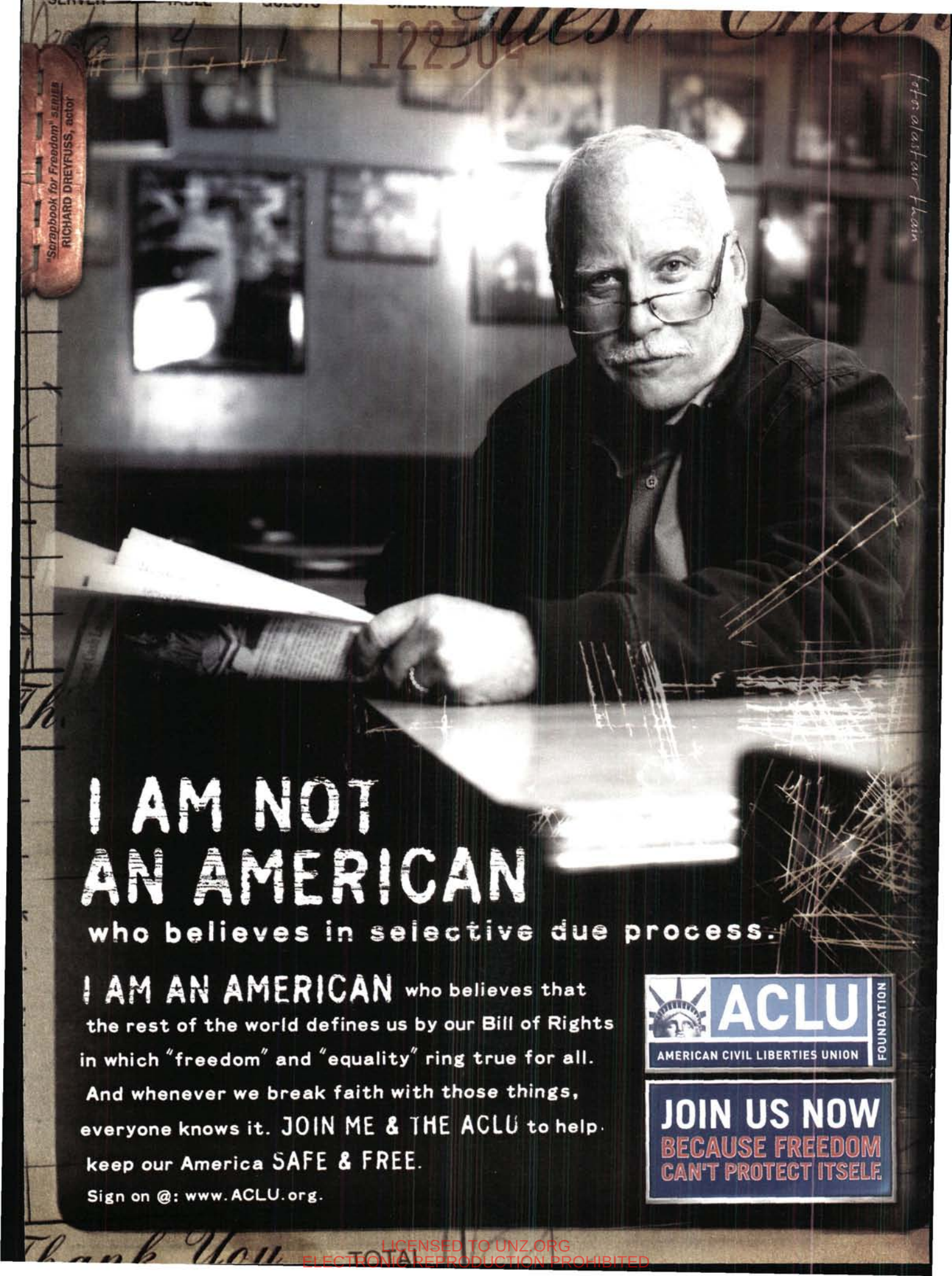
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CORRESPONDENCE

KNOWN THREAT

THE NEW REPUBLIC'S DECEMBER 1 & 8 cover article seeks to paint as "radical" the vice president's conclusion that Saddam Hussein's Iraq posed a gathering threat ("The Radical," Spencer Ackerman and Franklin Foer). Far from radical, that conclusion had been widely held for years by the U.S. intelligence community, other departments in our federal government, and even the United Nations. For example:

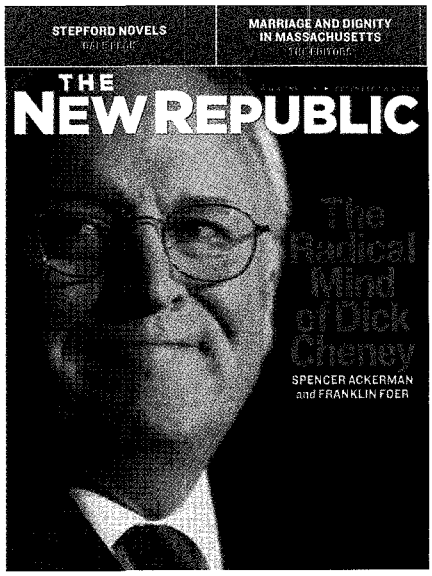
- The American intelligence community found with "high confidence" that "Iraq is continuing, and in some areas expanding, its chemical, biological, nuclear, and missile programs contrary to U.N. resolutions" (National Intelligence Estimate [NIE], October 2002).
- CIA Director George Tenet stated, "We have solid reporting of senior level contacts between Iraq and Al Qaeda going back a decade" and "credible reporting that Al Qaeda leaders sought contacts in Iraq who could help them acquire WMD [weapons of mass destruction] capabilities. The reporting also stated that Iraq has provided training to Al Qaeda members in the areas of poisons and gases and making conventional bombs" (letter to the Senate Intelligence Committee, October 7, 2002).
- Secretary of State Colin Powell told the U.N. Security Council, "When we confront a regime that harbors ambitions for regional domination, hides weapons of mass destruction, and provides haven and active support for terrorists, we are not confronting the past; we are confronting the present" (February 5, 2003).
- By a 15-to-zero vote, the United Nations found Iraq in material breach of its resolutions, including those on WMD.
- The Clinton administration, too, had attacked Saddam's regime based on similar evidence.

With this in mind, Vice President Cheney concluded, "Those charged with the security of this nation could not read such an assessment and pretend that it did not exist. Ignoring such information, or trying to wish it away, would be irresponsible in the extreme" (July 24, 2003).

To make this common wisdom seem "radical," Ackerman and Foer ignore the overwhelming public record. Instead, they create a fantasy world in which evidence is supposedly passed improperly and intelligence analysts are purportedly pressured to reach conclusions our intelligence community openly held for years. Ackerman and Foer rely on inaccurate second- or thirdhand information from a handful of anonymous, retired "ex-analysts"—none of whom appear to have been directly involved in the events they attempt to describe. (One unidentified "retired analyst" even claims that some unnamed intelligence analysts were treated like a "bunch of pinkos." *Pinkos*? When did this analyst retire? 1955?)

How inconvenient, then, that the senior career official who published the intelligence community consensus, Stuart Cohen, writes in *The Washington Post* on November 28, 2003, "The judgments presented in the October 2002 NIE were based on data acquired and analyzed over 15 years. Our judgments were presented to three different administrations and routinely to six congressional committees. And the principal participants in the production of the NIE from across the entire U.S. intelligence community have sworn to Congress, under oath, that they were not pressured to change their views or to conform to administration positions."

Furthermore, Ackerman and Foer write ominously that the vice president "paid calls to analysts at the DIA [Defense Intelligence Agency], the National Security Agency [NSA], and even the National Intelligence Mapping Agency [NIMA]." But the vice president visited them only once each, *in the spring of 2001*—to meet management and address Agency employees in auditoriums to thank them for their vital efforts. Contrary to Ackerman and Foer's assertion, these visits had nothing to do with Iraq. Similarly, the public record—long available to TNR—clearly shows that the statements from the vice president quoted in the article were in accord with the public assertions of Tenet, Powell, and the intelligence community.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MARRIAGE AND DIGNITY IN MASSACHUSETTS
THE NEW REPUBLIC
The Radical Mind of Dick Cheney
SPENCER ACKERMAN and FRANKLIN FOER

In short, these and other misstatements in the article could have been avoided if the reporters had checked their facts. Ackerman and Foer ignored evidence that would have undercut their preconceived thesis. Or, to borrow their own language, the authors seem to have been cherry-picking, "trying to stifle information that [they] considered counterproductive to [their] case."

In so doing, they do a disservice to Vice President Cheney, I. Lewis Libby, John Hannah, and others. Topics of such gravity merit the kind of balanced and thoughtful treatment of which TNR and its talented writers and editors are more than capable.

KEVIN KELLEMS
Office of the Vice President
Washington, D.C.

SPENCER ACKERMAN AND FRANKLIN FOER REPLY: Kevin Kellems suggests that we should

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have checked our facts. In fact, we did, as evidenced by, among other things, our lengthy pre-publication phone conversation with him for this purpose. Though Kellems alleges many misstatements, he can cite only one in a 7,000-word article. He says Vice President Dick Cheney's visits to DIA, NSA, and NIMA had no relationship to the Iraq intelligence. While we concede mistakenly linking these visits to Iraq, that point was a one-sentence aside in a section about how many visits the vice president made *to the CIA* that have been widely criticized—outside the Agency and within it—as efforts to pressure analysts into producing intelligence more in line with administration policy. About this larger point, Kellems says nothing—except when he quotes the National Intelligence Council's Stuart Cohen, in a statement issued after our piece went to press, that analysts have testified they felt no pressure from the Bush administration. It is worth noting, however, that *The Washington Post* reported in October 2003 that many of these analysts delivered their testimony in the presence of superiors—not exactly a climate conducive to candor.

As for the rest of Kellems's letter, he's arguing against a straw man. We never disputed that Saddam posed a threat to U.S. national security. What we demonstrated was how Cheney's ideological preconceptions led him and his staffers to ignore and suppress contrary evidence about the scope of that threat and to inflate evidence—some of it considered dubious by the intelligence community—that supported their preferred policy. In fact, with the evidence Kellems cites, he unwittingly makes our point: The October 2002 NIE on Iraq, Tenet's statement on Iraq–Al Qaeda ties that month, and Powell's February 2003 U.N. testimony were not pieces of objective evidence that the administration relied on to formulate its Iraq policy. Rather, they were products of an intelligence process that the administration—and the Office of the Vice President in particular—had already politicized in order to justify its Iraq policy. To take one particularly egregious example, much of Powell's testimony was first drafted by Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis Libby. For a more thorough examination of how the administration exerted a heavy hand on the intelligence services, we refer our readers to Spencer Ackerman and John B. Judis's earlier stories—"The First Casualty" (June 30, 2003) and "The Operator" (September 22, 2003)—as well as careful reporting in *The Washington Post* throughout last year by Barton Gellman, Dana Priest, and Walter Pincus.

Finally, Kellems questions the credibility of our intelligence sources, all of whom maintain close ties to the intelligence services. We independently verified their accounts whenever possible, and we stand by the information they provided to us.

BRANCHING OUT

THE EDITORIAL "MASS APPEAL," about the Massachusetts same-sex marriage decision, asserted that "the key question is not about judicial overreach but whether there is any justification for refusing homosexuals the right to marry" (December 1 & 8). However, the Massachusetts constitution, which the court used to justify changing state marriage law, says otherwise.

Article 30 of the Massachusetts constitution states categorically, "In the government of this commonwealth ... the judicial [branch] shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them." This explicitly prohibits the very "judicial overreach" that THE NEW REPUBLIC appears to condone. And it directly conflicts with the editors' statement that "the proper role of the courts" is "not a matter to be dismissed lightly." The proper role—that is, the power of courts in a constitutional democracy—cannot be dismissed at all.

TNR further contends that judicial overreaching can be ignored when "at least half" of the population likes the result. Whether the issue is same-sex marriage or application of health regulations to green onions, an opinion poll cannot confer upon judges power the Constitution explicitly forbids. Policy preferences and public opinion are matters for legislatures, not for courts.

Bristling at the idea of a marriage-protective amendment to the Constitution, the editors insist that making marriage law "is a matter for states and states alone." TNR should also insist that it is a matter for legislatures and legislatures alone.

ORRIN G. HATCH
U.S. Senator
Washington, D.C.

LOST IN TRANSLATION

I READ WITH GREAT INTEREST ANNE O'DONNELL'S article on the startling shortage of translators in our military and intelligence agencies ("Speechless," December 22). However, while I agree that we should be hiring more native speakers of Arabic and other difficult languages here in the United States, there is simply not a large enough pool of qualified applicants. The only way we're going to solve the translator problem is by creating a new domestic pool of foreign-language experts, and we can only do that if we invest in the classroom.

Consider the following disturbing facts. Al Qaeda operates in over 75 countries, where hundreds of languages and dialects are spoken. However, 99 percent of U.S. high school and university programs concentrate on roughly a dozen (mostly European) languages. More college students currently study Ancient Greek (20, 858) than Arabic (10,596), Korean (5,211), Persian (1,117), and Pashto (14) put together.

That's why I have introduced legislation, the National Security Language Act, which would expand federal investment for education in foreign languages of critical need, such as Arabic, Persian, Korean, Pashto, and Chinese. Specifically, my bill would provide loan forgiveness of up to $10,000 for university students who major in a critical-need foreign language and then take a job either in the federal workforce or as a language teacher. It would also provide new grants to U.S. universities to establish intensive in-country language-study programs and to develop programs that would encourage students to pursue advanced science and technology studies in a foreign language.

Just as the National Defense Education Act of 1958 created a generation of scientists, engineers, and Russian linguists to confront the enemy of that time, the National Security Language Act will give us a generation of Americans able to confront the new threats we face today.

RUSH HOLT
U.S. Representative
Washington, D.C.

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At Home Abroad

TRB
FROM WASHINGTON

THIS WAS SUPPOSED TO BE the "domestic issues" State of the Union address. In his January 2002 speech, President Bush dwelled on the war in Afghanistan. Last January, he dwelled on the war in Iraq. This year, his aides told reporters, he would turn to the home front, beginning the speech with national security and building to a domestic policy crescendo.

It's not hard to understand why. Since he took office, President Bush's popularity has swung largely along a single axis: When national security predominates, it goes up; when domestic policy predominates, it goes down. On September 9, 2001, Bush's approval rating, according to an ABC News/*Washington Post* poll, was 55 percent. Two days after the September 11 attacks, it had spiked to 86 percent. Throughout 2002, as the war on terrorism gradually receded as an issue, Bush's approval rating steadily dropped. By January 20, 2003, it was back down to 59 percent.

It shot back up during the Iraq war, peaking at 77 percent on April 9, 2003, the day Baghdad fell. And, since then, with Iraq no longer dominating the headlines, it has dropped again. Since last fall, Bush's approval rating has hovered between 53 and 59 percent.

Those numbers are not bad. But, in the ten months until Election Day, national security could recede even further. In 2003, President Bush stanched his slide in popularity with a foreign policy second act: Iraq. Today, by contrast, the White House is busy getting Iraq off the front page. It is willing to compromise on almost any aspect of the occupation, it seems, except its June 30 deadline to hand over sovereignty to an Iraqi government, the starting gun for the withdrawal of American troops.

National security's declining political salience has already reshaped the race for the Democratic nomination. Last summer, when Iraq dominated headlines, Iowa's dovish Democrats flocked to Howard Dean—the one major candidate then making opposition to the war his central theme. But, as the war receded as a litmus test, John Kerry—whose muddled position on Iraq hurt him last year—began to rise. So did John Edwards, arguably the most domestic-policy-oriented of the major candidates. This Monday, three-fourths of caucusgoers still said they opposed the war. But they were four times more likely to cite domestic issues as their top priority than to cite Iraq on national security. According to the Edison/Mitofsky Iowa Democratic Caucus poll, caucusgoers who prioritized Iraq favored Dean by eight points over Kerry and 28 points over Edwards. But, among the much larger number who prioritized the economy and jobs, Dean trailed Edwards by 17 points and Kerry by 18.

This public shift toward domestic policy could cause President Bush some of the same headaches it is causing Dean. Ever since taking office, the Bush administration has labored to blunt the Democrats' traditional advantage on domestic issues. But this week's ABC News/*Washington Post* poll suggests those efforts have largely failed. The No Child Left Behind Act was supposed to give the GOP an edge on education. But, if anything, it has done the opposite. According to ABC and the *Post*, the 19-point advantage on the issue that Bush enjoyed on September 9, 2001, four months before the law was signed, has now turned into a one-point Democratic advantage. The prescription-drug benefit Bush signed last December was supposed to eliminate this key Democratic talking point. But the Democrats today enjoy a 16-point lead on prescription drugs, larger than in April 2003, before the bill was passed. In June 2001, respondents were seven points more likely to trust Bush on taxes than the Democrats. Today, that has turned into a three-point Democratic lead. Even the improving economy hasn't given Bush a partisan boost. The president led by ten points on the issue in April 2003 but now trails by seven points. In fact, respondents preferred the Democrats on every domestic issue discussed in the latest ABC/*Washington Post* poll.

All of which brings us back to the State of the Union, which—coming two weeks after Bush's big immigration proposal—was supposed to highlight the president's domestic policy vision. It didn't. Bush began by calling the United States "a nation called to great responsibilities." And, on foreign policy, the themes were indeed large: Afghanistan and Iraq as beachheads for a transformed, democratic Middle East. But, when the president turned to the home front, the responsibilities didn't seem very great at all. Hemmed in by a conservative base suspicious of government activism and a budget deficit that leaves little room for new spending initiatives, Bush laid out proposals so trivial they made Bill Clinton's famed micro-initiatives seem bold by comparison. There was a call for associated health plans, which would allow small businesses to band together to buy health care. Bush said the country could improve medical treatment by "computerizing health records." He called for a "grassroots campaign to help inform families" about the danger of sexually transmitted diseases among teens. He offered a whopping $300 million over four years for job training among ex-prisoners. And, with Tom Brady in the audience, he denounced the use of steroids in professional sports.

The speech didn't even end with domestic policy, as advertised. Seeking some rhetorical lift, the president closed with the only topic that could provide it: the war on terrorism. "Our nation is strong and steadfast," he said in his final paragraph. "The cause we serve is right, because it is the cause of all mankind. The momentum of freedom in our world is unmistakable, and it is not carried forward by our power alone." Summing up the reaction of a Toledo, Ohio, focus group immediately following the speech, CNN reporter Jeff Flock said, "The sense is they heard too much foreign policy stuff, too much war, too much terrorism. They want to hear about the issues that impact them."

Perhaps President Bush doesn't need a compelling domestic agenda to win a second term. In 2002, after all, the GOP won without one. The war on terrorism remains enormously politically potent, and it dramatically favors the GOP. But, if it genuinely fades as an issue and Bush is left to campaign on the domestic vision outlined in this Tuesday's State of the Union, the presidential race could change in dramatic, unexpected ways. Just ask Howard Dean.

PETER BEINART

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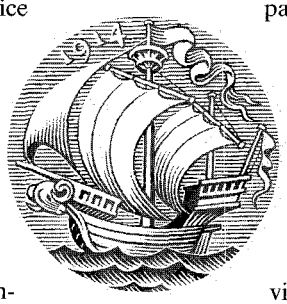
Placebo

SOMEBODY AT THE White House must have realized that the 44 million Americans without health insurance—and the tens of millions more worried about losing theirs—think the government has better things to do than land on Mars. That's why the talk of moon shots ended abruptly last week, and administration officials instead began promising reporters that the big domestic policy news in this week's State of the Union address would be the president's proposals to make health insurance more affordable.

But the striking thing about the new ideas President Bush presented Tuesday night is that they aren't new at all. In his speech, Bush proposed reforming malpractice laws, creating purchasing pools for small businesses, and offering new tax breaks for health insurance—all ideas he has been touting since the spring of 2000, when candidate Bush first suggested them. But they make no more sense now than they did then. Take malpractice reform, that hearty conservative perennial. There's a respectable case to be made for intelligently curbing frivolous malpractice lawsuits. But, according to the most reliable studies, conservative ideologues have greatly exaggerated the relationship between malpractice lawsuits and rising overall health care costs. If Bush wants to challenge a special interest group, he should forget the trial lawyers and go after the pharmaceutical industry, whose manipulation of the prescription-drug market has a lot to do with skyrocketing insurance premiums.

Bush's effort to help small businesses cover their employees by allowing them "to band together and negotiate for lower insurance rates" at least targets a more germane problem. After all, health insurance works best when large groups of people purchase coverage together so that the modest premiums paid by the vast majority of healthy people are enough to pay the high expenses of the small minority with serious medical problems. But small businesses are already allowed to pool resources; the reason they don't is that states regulate group insurance very tightly, to guarantee minimum benefits and prohibit discrimination against the infirm. The scheme Bush embraces—so-called association health plans (AHP)—would do away with those regulations. So, while more small businesses might offer coverage, that coverage could well be inadequate for the very sick. That's one reason that, a few years ago, the Congressional Budget Office looked at AHPs and decided they might actually *increase* the number of uninsured.



Of all the Bush health ideas trotted out this week, the most serious and promising is the creation of refundable tax credits to help the uninsured. But, precisely because health insurance is so much more expensive when you buy it as an individual, the $1,000 tax credit by itself won't make decent coverage affordable for many poor adults. Once again, healthier individuals who can make do with bare-bones policies—the only kind $1,000 might buy—might find this an appealing option; but it'd be a lousy deal for people who are sick. Given that some employers would seize on the opportunity of expanded tax-credit options to drop coverage altogether, it's no wonder that some studies suggest these tax credits would be of negligible benefit to the uninsured.

Whatever their individual flaws, the most devastating thing you can say about Bush's proposals is what, together, they signal about his administration's priorities. Even if you accept the most optimistic—and, indeed, wildly unrealistic—estimates of what these proposals would do, they'd reduce the number of uninsured by just a few million. Compare this with what the Democratic presidential candidates are suggesting. The least generous plan out there is John Edwards's, which would reduce the number of uninsured by a full 21 million—cutting the number of uninsured Americans in half. Plans by the other contenders would go even further, reaching more than 30 million people.

These plans would cost between $50 and $90 billion, or between five and ten times as much as Bush's proposals—money the Democrats would generate by repealing part of the Bush tax cuts. It'd be a worthwhile trade-off. Because health insurance is so prohibitively expensive when individuals buy it on their own, the extra cash they'd get from tax cuts isn't nearly as valuable as access to government-provided group coverage, which is essentially what the Democratic plans would provide. Bush, naturally, sees things differently. The most emotional pitch Bush made in his State of the Union was a plea for Congress to make permanent his tax cuts—tax cuts that could easily pay to cover every single uninsured American. Hopefully, Americans will remember that when they vote in November. ■

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NOTEBOOK

SUGAR DOESN'T MAKE YOU FAT . . . YEAH, AND SADDAM HAD WMD

BOYS ON THE BUS

THE PRESS HAS BEEN SPILLING AN awful lot of ink on Dr. Judith Steinberg Dean and her absence from her husband's presidential campaign. Last week, *The New York Times* even saw fit to put the matter on its front page. ("THE OTHER DOCTOR IN DEAN'S HOUSE SHUNS POLITICS," read the headline.) But, when Dean's wife unexpectedly showed up at the former Vermont governor's side for a campaign rally in Iowa last weekend—a move, no doubt, prompted by all the media scrutiny—the press wimped out. After Judy Dean addressed a rally in Davenport, she, her husband, and the reporters covering the Dean campaign boarded a bus for the 90-minute drive to another rally in Cedar Rapids. But, while the Deans were happy to talk to the press on the ride there, they would do so, the campaign stipulated, only if the conversation was off the record. The reason for such ground rules? Judy Dean, campaign officials reportedly said, is a "private person." But her claim to privacy—a claim she could plausibly (and frequently did) make when she didn't appear in public with her husband—was extremely tenuous that day. After all, she had just traveled from Vermont to Iowa to appear with her husband and speak at two public events. Which is why it's disappointing that, of the many reporters covering Dean, only four of them—*The Boston Globe*'s Glen Johnson, *The Washington Post*'s John Harris, *Newsday*'s Anne Hoy, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*'s Tom Fitzgerald—refused to abide by those ground rules and so were sequestered in a separate vehicle. "In good conscience, I could not agree to have her appear on our bus and not answer questions for publication, such as explaining what prompted her to appear at her husband's side and how it felt to join him in campaigning," Johnson later told *The New York Sun*. Maybe the others should have followed their consciences instead of the pack.

Judith Steinberg Dean

SWEETHEARTS

NO ONE CAN ACCUSE THE BUSH administration of not fighting for what it believes in. Or, at least, for what its big-industry friends believe in, particularly when those friends are located in key electoral states. On January 5, in a nod to its supporters in the Florida sugar industry—who have raised millions for Bush and his allies over the years—the administration submitted a 28-page letter to the World Health Organization (WHO) disputing its proposed anti-obesity guidelines, which include restrictions on marketing and better nutritional labeling, aimed at reducing the intake of high-calorie foods. That's right: According to the letter, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) does not believe that "energy-dense foods" like candy, colas, and higher-fat dairy products "are linked to non-communicable diseases and obesity." The letter even questions "the linking of fruit and vegetable consumption to decreased risk of obesity." But what's good news for Homer Simpson (and Big Sugar, whose views are mirrored in the letter's claims) is bad news for living, breathing human beings; indeed, the notion that high-calorie foods make people fat isn't even remotely controversial in the global health community—the American Academy of Pediatrics, for example, recently recommended that schools restrict students' access to soft drinks because "children's daily food selections are excessively high in discretionary, or added, fat and sugar," which it concludes are major factors in making obesity "the most common medical condition of childhood." Indeed, beyond a medley of pedantic quibbles with the WHO's methodology, the HHS letter relies less on countervailing evidence (of which there is none) than it does on ideology—namely, the idea that parents, not companies or the government, are responsible for their kids' health and that the focus of health policy shouldn't be " 'good' and 'bad' foods" but "personal responsibility." Ironically, the WHO guidelines are aimed at the same goal: By reducing the glare of marketing, the WHO reasons, parents will be better able to control what their kids eat. "[The Bush administration's] focus on personal responsibility is curiously narrow," says Gary Ruskin, executive director of the consumer watchdog Commercial Alert. "What about the personal responsibility of the junk-food industry?" Indeed, what about that of the president?

BUNKER MENTALITY

DICK CHENEY EMERGED LAST WEEK for a spate of interviews intended to improve his media image, which officials worry is so negative that it could harm the president. But the vice president's image is unlikely to improve if he keeps making the same comments that got him into trouble in the first place. He continues to insist, for example, that "the jury is still out" on whether Iraq

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had weapons of mass destruction (WMD), even though chief American weapons-hunter David Kay's team has found nothing more incriminating than a few stray test tubes, the military has withdrawn its personnel from the search, and Kay himself has decided to quit his position. All of which suggests that the jury is, in fact, in.

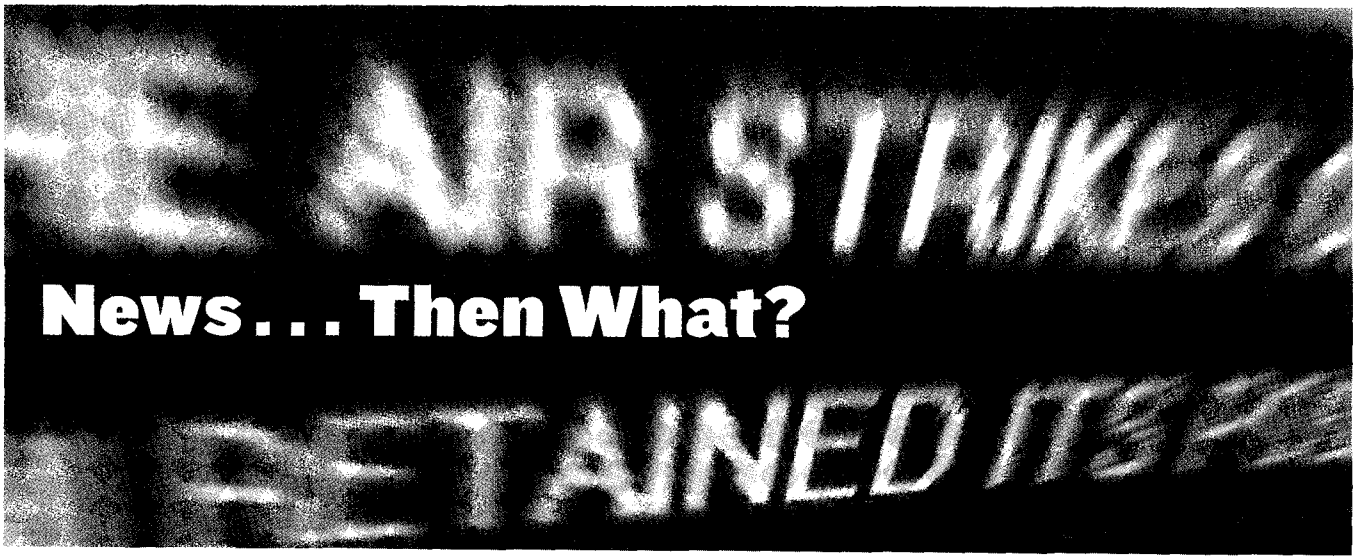
Worse, in response to the allegation that his public statements exaggerated the threat from Iraq, Cheney replies, "You'll find, if you go look at my public statements on WMD, that they track almost perfectly with what was in" the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on Iraq. Really? On September 8, 2002, Cheney told NBC's Tim Russert that "we do know, with absolute certainty, that [Saddam Hussein] is using his procurement system to acquire the equipment he needs in order to enrich uranium to build a nuclear weapon." Cheney may have been certain, but the NIE was not: The Department of Energy and the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research rejected the central piece of evidence for this claim—the now-discredited assertion that Saddam was importing high-strength aluminum tubes for a nuclear weapons program. Cheney told CNN's John King on September 9, 2002, that "we know [Saddam] has ... continue[d] to improve his chemical weapons capability." Yet, that same month, a classified Defense Intelligence Agency report noted, "There is no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing and stockpiling chemical weapons, or where Iraq has—or will—establish its chemical warfare agent production facilities." In a December 2002 address to the Air National Guard in Colorado, Cheney echoed President Bush's assertion that "Iraq could decide on any given day to provide biological or chemical weapons to a terrorist group or to individual terrorists"—even though the NIE had judged that Saddam would only take this "extreme step" if "sufficiently desperate," given that Saddam "historically has maintained tight control over the use of WMD."

Cheney is apparently "more bothered than usual by much of his recent coverage," as *The Washington Post* put it, so we'll make him a deal: When the vice president stops making statements at odds with the truth, we'll guarantee him friendlier coverage.

MOORE SUPPORTIVE

"I'M SORRY TO PERSONALIZE [THE bombing in Kosovo] in this way, but this slaughter is being conducted in your name and mine, and I'll tell you, this is blood I don't want on my hands. We will all have to answer for this some day, and I would like to be able to say that I did not sit by silently while this was being done."—Michael Moore, in a letter to his supporters about the Kosovo war, April 15, 1999

"My vote for Clark is one of conscience. I feel so strongly about this that I'm going to devote the next few weeks of my life to do everything I can to help Wesley Clark win."—Moore, in a January 14 letter to his supporters, endorsing Democratic presidential candidate Wesley Clark, who, as the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, pushed for and conducted the Kosovo war (thanks to Michael Hastings) ■



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Is outsourcing really so bad?

Missed Target

BY CLAY RISEN

Ask folks in Silicon Valley these days about their biggest fear, and you likely won't hear about Osama bin Laden, global warming, or failing schools. These days, everyone's afraid of offshore outsourcing—the movement of white-collar jobs, especially in the high-tech sector, from the United States to foreign countries, where the labor is cheap, plentiful, and, increasingly, well-educated. "There's an increased level of anxiety about what the economy's going to be like," says Marcus Courtney, president of the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers. "People who entered this field thought it was going to be a career for twenty years, and now their jobs are gone." And they may not be coming back. "America is short of jobs as never before, and the major candidates for our offshore outsourcing are ramping up employment as never before," Stephen Roach, chief economist at Morgan Stanley, recently told *The New York Times*. "[T]hese jobs are, by [and] large, lost forever."

Predictably, politicians and the media have been quick to pick up on these fears. "TECH WORKERS STRUGGLE TO ANSWER OVERSEAS THREAT," noted a *New York Times* headline in November. And United Press International claimed recently that the financial benefits of offshoring would "come with a hefty price tag, with significant economic as well as social consequences." In turn, a growing number in Congress have called for a raft of anti-offshoring measures, from tax incentives to keep jobs offshore to bans on using foreign labor for government projects; Senators George Voinovich and Craig Thomas, for example, added an amendment to the 2004 Transportation and Treasury appropriations bill that would prevent contractors from using overseas labor to complete some federal contracts. And, on the op-ed page of *The New York Times*, Senator Charles Schumer recently asked "whether the case for free trade ... is undermined by the changes now evident in the modern global economy," particularly offshore outsourcing. His answer? A resounding "yes." Offshore outsourcing, especially to developing powerhouses like China and India, has become this decade's "giant sucking sound."

But, like the fears that surrounded NAFTA, those around offshoring are mostly baseless. While offshoring is definitely an economic trend, there is no statistical evidence pointing to the massive employment drain activists call the "coring out" of America's best jobs. In fact, recent studies show that the opposite is true: While offshoring may displace some workers in the short term, in the medium and long terms it represents a net benefit for both domestic businesses and their workers. In fact, the greatest threat from outsourcing is that its opponents will use it to force a new wave of protectionism.

The frenzy over offshoring got going in late 2002, when Forrester Research released a startling study showing that 3.3 million white-collar jobs would move overseas by 2015. Then, in July of last year, the research firm Gartner trotted out its own study saying that as many as 5 percent of all information technology (I.T.) jobs could move abroad between mid-2003 and the end of 2004. And a 2003 report from Deloitte Research said that the top 100 financial-services firms plan to move $356 billion in operations and two million jobs overseas in the next five years.

But those numbers aren't as scary as they sound. For one thing, while offshore outsourcing is definitely occurring, it's difficult to say just how large a trend it is at present. The Forrester research is based primarily on surveys of business leaders who are merely speculating about future offshoring decisions they might make: "There is no objective data to prove all these jobs are going overseas," says Michaela Platzer of the AeA (formerly the American Electronics Association). "There's just a lot of anecdotal evidence." Some point to the jobless recovery as evidence of offshoring's impact, but the lack of jobs is just as likely the result of booming productivity and the economy's (until recently) anemic pace. "I think people are confusing the business cycle with long-term trends," says Daniel Griswold, an economist at the Cato Institute. "People are looking for someone to blame. They say, 'Aha, it's because our jobs are moving to India.' If you look at the late 1990s, though, all these globalizing phenomena were going on." In other words, it wasn't that offshoring practices changed; it was that the economy slowed.

What's more, economists don't even agree on *how* such data could be collected—for example, many offshoring moves represent not a direct shift of a given job overseas but rather its restructuring, which in turn might create a new job overseas as well as a new job, with a new job description, in the United States. Such restructuring is particularly prevalent in high-tech fields like software and data management—for example, an American employee might be tasked with the design, implementation, and testing of a software program; under restructuring, his employer might hire an Indian, at one-tenth the cost, to do the implementation and testing and then hire an American to do the design work. IBM, for example, plans to offshore 3,000 programming jobs this year. But, at the same time, it will also create 5,000 jobs in the United States. Does that count as jobs lost, jobs gained, or both? "[Offshoring is] going to lead to individual job loss," says Gary Burtless, an economist at Brookings, "but that does not mean it will lead to aggregate loss of employment in the United States."

Even if there were a short-term loss of jobs, the losses

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would likely have a more muted effect on the economy than the factory flight of the 1980s and '90s, when most factory workers had to undergo intensive retraining in order to find new jobs. White-collar workers tend to be, both in terms of skills and career perspective, more capable of moving on to other jobs. Another mitigating factor is the wide dispersal of high-tech jobs throughout the country; unlike manufacturing, which tends to clump hundreds or thousands of jobs in the same factory or town, high-tech work can be done anywhere. For example, one of the job sectors frequently cited as "offshoring prone" is medical transcription. Although it's a $15 billion industry, medical-transcription work is almost always farmed out to small firms around the country; even if all of them closed, the impact on any one community would be small.

And, while Forrester's 3.3 million jobs estimate may sound like a lot, keep in mind that it's a loss spread out over 15 years (2000–2015)—just 220,000 jobs annually. Furthermore, Forrester isn't talking about net job loss, but rather gross loss. In fact, even during periods of fast job growth, the U.S. economy sheds hundreds of thousands of jobs each year; it's simply robust enough to make up for the loss. In 1999, a year the economy produced a net 1.13 million jobs, it shed 2.5 million. But few argued that those job cuts were bad for the economy; in fact, most economists would argue they were beneficial, because they allowed companies to structure their operations more efficiently.

Offshoring is no different. In a sense, offshoring is simply the radical extension of the "creative destruction" processes that many credit as a driving force behind the '90s boom. Under the mantra "focus on what you do best," companies have been outsourcing non-core operations (such as human resources and call centers) for years; it is only with the emergence of high-quality telecommunications links that those operations have begun to move offshore. Unburdened by such ancillary concerns, companies are free to focus on—and innovate within—their core businesses, in turn creating new jobs, even new industries. "The standard arguments for free trade exist in this case," says Josh Bivens, an economist at the Economy Policy Institute. "I think the United States could see a productivity gain through this kind of trade." Meanwhile, the bulk of jobs that the Forrester survey claims will be outsourced are hardly the sorts of jobs on which the U.S. economy depends. "The lower-level jobs, the programming jobs, a lot of them will not be done in this country," says Stephanie Moore, an outsourcing expert at Giga, an economic research firm. In their place, she says, "New jobs are going to be created. Citibank will never let an Indian vendor manage its retail-banking operations."

Indeed, recent studies delving beyond the Forrester and Gartner numbers indicate that, despite the impact of short-term job loss, offshore outsourcing represents a net economic benefit for the United States. According to the McKinsey Global Institute, for every dollar a U.S. company spends on offshoring to India, the U.S. economy gains $1.14, thanks to a number of factors: savings from the increased operational efficiency, equipment sales to Indian outsourcers, the value of American labor reemployed to higher-wage jobs, and repatriated earnings by U.S. companies that own Indian outsourcing firms. "The recent changes driving offshoring are not that different or radical from the changes that dynamic, competitive, technologically evolving economies have experienced for the last few decades," the report concludes.

None of this, of course, has stopped anti-offshoring critics from calling for restrictions. In 2002, after Shirley Turner, a New Jersey state representative, learned that calls to the state's welfare and food-stamps programs were being routed to a call center in Mumbai, she introduced a bill that would block foreign firms from working on state-funded projects. The bill created a firestorm in the I.T. community, with most workers supporting Turner. "I've been in the legislature now for ten years, and I have never received as much correspondence from people as I have with this bill," she told *USA Today*. Similar legislation has popped up in six other states. And, though none of those bills have been approved, observers say they'll likely pick up steam as the November elections approach. "I would expect that those bills will reemerge," says Information Technology Association of America President Harris Miller. "And, given it's an election year in most states, the likelihood of passage will be much higher." Anti-outsourcing fever is also growing in Congress, where a raft of bills has been introduced to limit the number of visas available for skilled laborers. The USA Jobs Protection Act, introduced by Senator Chris Dodd and Representative Nancy Johnson, would prevent U.S. companies from hiring foreign workers when American workers are available for the same job.

But there's little reason to believe these sorts of plans could stanch job contractions, even if they did manage to prevent jobs from going offshore. Particularly during rough economic times, the need to cut costs is an absolute priority, and, if offshoring weren't a possibility, domestic jobs would still likely be cut. "The choice isn't outsourcing or keeping jobs here," says Griswold. "It's outsourcing or going out of business. Which isn't good for jobs. This is an absolute necessity for many companies." If companies were somehow prevented from shipping jobs offshore, they would likely turn to other methods of reducing labor costs, such as technological upgrades—a process that has resulted in job loss since the birth of capitalism. "It's striking that people have less sympathy if those people are replaced by machines than if they are replaced by foreign workers," says Burtless. "It's all part of the same phenomenon of trying to squeeze value out of the same resources."

But, while offshoring-related protectionism may stifle economic development and unnecessarily force business closures, its biggest impact may be longer term. That's because, as the baby-boomers move into retirement, the size of the working population will decline precipitously, by

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5 percent by 2015, according to the McKinsey report. Without a readily available source of high-quality, young labor—i.e., the sort provided by offshore outsourcing—the country could find itself in a sort of economic sclerosis. Growth could be permanently hamstrung by the high labor costs and booming social spending that have turned Germany, where it's extraordinarily difficult for companies to lay off employees, from an economic engine into a plodding giant. As Carl Steidtmann, chief economist for Deloitte Research, wrote recently, "Restrictive employment laws in Europe go a long way toward explaining why Europe consistently runs a higher rate of unemployment when contrasted with the U.S. or Britain."

NEVERTHELESS, THE FACT that there are benefits to offshore outsourcing doesn't mean we should sit back and let it ride. At the individual level, job loss is a painful process, and there is no guarantee that even a relatively mobile white-collar worker whose job is outsourced will be able to find a new one, let alone at the same wage. The response, however, isn't to fight against offshoring but to find ways to alleviate its negative effects. One approach—advocated by Lori Kletzer, a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics, and Robert Litan of the Brookings Institution—is to require companies to purchase "outsourcing insurance," which would cover a portion of displaced employees' salaries for a fixed period of time in the event their jobs are outsourced. Not only would this help alleviate the pain of layoffs, but it would force companies to internalize the economic cost of their outsourcing decisions. The McKinsey report, which also favors this approach, argues that, "as offshoring volumes rise, the insurance premiums will increase, cutting into the gains from offshoring and, thereby, making offshoring less attractive to companies in periods of high unemployment."

The most obvious and, in the global economy, most necessary solution, however, is worker training. The Trade Adjustment Assistance program already provides assistance to workers displaced by NAFTA-related factory closings; a similar program could easily be crafted to respond to offshore outsourcing. Indeed, requiring companies that outsource to contribute a portion of their savings to training programs would both internalize the costs and provide the necessary funds. And job training would not only alleviate periods of protracted unemployment; by making workers more agile, it would also make the U.S. economy more efficient and productive. Indeed, thanks to its combination of high job mobility and a highly educated work force, one of the U.S. economy's greatest strengths is its ability to redeploy workers quickly without dramatic cuts in their wages. And, thanks to that flexibility, notes the McKinsey report, "Over the past 10 years, the U.S. economy has created a total of 35 million new private sector jobs." It would be ironic if, in an effort to protect jobs, we closed off one of the most powerful means by which they are created. ■

Bush's goofy Mars proposal.

Red Scare

BY GREGG EASTERBROOK

WHEN SKEPTICS POINT out how expensive and unrealistic a Mars mission would be, proponents often reply, "What if Queen Isabel had told Columbus his plan was too expensive and unrealistic?" But George W. Bush's proposal that the United States mount a mission to Mars, throwing in a moon base to boot, is not like Columbus's proposal to explore the Indies—it's more like a 1492 expedition to the South Pole.

However bold, Columbus's westward journey from Spain to the Bahamas was not notably different from long ocean voyages that had already been undertaken by others, his destination was hospitable to life, and chances were he would find something of greater value to the throne than it had paid for his ships and stores. By contrast, a trip to the South Pole would have been dramatically longer and more difficult than any before—a phenomenally expensive and risky journey to a place hostile to life, where, even if he survived, Columbus stood little chance of finding anything of value commensurate with the voyage's cost. Isabel would have been a fool not to say, "This is too expensive and unrealistic."

At least, Spain would have waited until steam ships and other advances made a trip to the South Pole imaginable. And that realism points to the big question hanging over Bush's moon-Mars proposal: Why not wait until technology renders such travel less impracticable? There's no reason right now to go back to the moon, other than as make-work for aerospace contractors. For 30 years, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has sent no automated probes to the moon, because no one has proposed anything compelling for even robots to do there. And, while a Mars visit would be an exhilarating moment for human history, planning for Mars before improving space technology is putting the cart ahead of the horse. NASA's urgent priority should be finding a new system of placing pounds into orbit: If there were some less costly, safer way to reach space than either the space shuttle or current rockets, then grand visions might become affordable. And, if there were some new form of propulsion, Mars flight might become practical. But, today, the maximum speed of spacecraft propelled by chemical rockets is such that each leg of a Mars voyage could take up to a year, meaning that the ship would have to carry huge quantities of supplies and the astronauts would have to cope with the psychological effects of extended close confinement. Once advanced propulsion of-

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fers higher speeds, Mars travel might become thinkable. Until then, Bush's sweeping visions are a formula for wasting money.

THE RED PLANET is fascinating and scientifically enthralling. Mars, the most Earth-like planet in the solar system, may once have been warm, wet, and alive; microbial life may still exist there. Merely to know whether Mars ever hosted life would represent one of the greatest additions ever made to the store of human knowledge. Men and women are sure to go to Mars someday and perhaps even live there.

For the moment, however, talk of a Mars mission is bunkum. The simple reason is cost, which is in large part a function of weight. The *Apollo* spacecraft that went to the moon weighed 45 tons at departure from Earth orbit, carrying enough material to support three people over ten days and about 800,000 miles. A Mars craft, by contrast, would be gone for two years or longer, carry perhaps six people, and travel 100 million miles or more, meaning it would have to be far heavier. The Mars Institute, a private group that strongly supports a Mars mission and whose reports are said to have influenced the White House announcement, proposes, among other things, a roughly 1,000-ton mission composed of four separate vehicles, each weighing 240 tons at departure from Earth orbit, only the last of them carrying crew.

Going from Earth's surface to orbit requires a lot of energy and is very expensive with existing technology. At the current space shuttle launch price of $20 million per ton, merely placing 1,000 tons of Mars-bound equipment into orbit would cost $20 billion—more than NASA's entire annual budget. And that's just the cost to *launch* the stuff. Design, construction, staffing, and support would all cost much more.

But the space shuttle isn't the right vehicle to carry Mars-mission hardware into orbit, as each 240-ton spacecraft would require numerous shuttle flights (the effective maximum payload for the shuttle is around 15 tons), followed by elaborate in-orbit assembly. To avoid these problems, some Mars advocates propose using a super-rocket to launch each 240-ton, Mars-bound craft as a single, complete unit. The only problem is that no rocket exists today that could place a 240-ton vehicle into orbit; the most powerful rocket ever built, the *Saturn V*, could lift only about one-half of that. Presumably, a mega-rocket could be designed, but the development cost of the *Saturn V* was about $40 billion in today's dollars, and a rocket that towered over the *Saturn V* in size would surely tower over it in cost as well. Developing a new super-rocket and using it to launch 1,000 tons bound for Mars could easily cost $100 billion. Again, that's just to launch the stuff—design, construction, staffing, and support would all cost significantly more.

These are reasons why, when Bush's father asked NASA in 1989 about sending people to Mars, the Agency estimated a total program cost of $400 billion for several missions. That inflates to $600 billion in today's money and sounds about right as an estimate. Consider that the program cost of the space station is about $100 billion, and it weighs less than one-third as much as the conjectured Mars squadron and does not have to escape Earth's gravity, travel 100 million miles, land on another planet, and then come back. With current technology, a Mars program would cost at least several times what the space station did. *Spirit*, the rover that just landed on Mars, weighs about a ton and cost $410 million to build and send toward the Red Planet. If the spacecraft of a 1,000-ton Mars squadron costs as much per pound, then the price of a single manned Mars mission would be $410 billion!

Part of the reason a Mars mission would weigh so much, and therefore cost so much, is that the manned component would require incredible redundancy—perhaps two complete crew-carrying vehicles each capable of taking everyone back to Earth, in case some failure occurs during the long transit. Radiation exposure would be far more of a factor in Mars travel than it was going to the moon, which orbits within Earth's magnetic field, so many layers of heavy shielding would be needed. The Mars ship would require a full operating theater and two surgeons on the crew—in case one of them is the person who gets sick or injured. At least one geologist, one biologist, and two career astronauts would be required. NASA might even have to conduct a dry run, sending an entire spacecraft to Mars and back, just to ensure that the hardware works, meaning we'd spend dozens or hundreds of billions of dollars to fly an empty ship to Mars. Imagine how voters will like that.

Some lunatics—I use that word in its astronomical context—have suggested a Mars mission could be staged with a spacecraft weighing only a few hundred tons by using inflatable habitats for the Martian surface, or sending a crew of just two, or skipping the shielding and simply gambling that radiation storms will not pass through the solar system while the ship is in transit, or going to Mars without the fuel needed to come back and trying to make that fuel there. Maybe a privately financed Mars mission could proceed with rudimentary "spam-in-a-can" capsules and gamble with the lives of its adventurers. Indeed, many of the grand expeditions of the past were privately funded—perhaps some entrepreneur with dreams of riches on Mars will mount such a voyage, though the financial odds seem long. At any rate, there's no chance NASA would propose, nor any president approve, a stripped-down mission that might lead to CNN images of stranded astronauts dying on Mars.

BUT WOULDN'T A moon base cut the price of a Mars mission? "Establishing an extended human presence on the moon could vastly reduce the costs of further space exploration," Bush said last week. "Spacecraft assembled and provisioned on the moon could escape its far lower gravity using far less energy and,

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thus, far less cost. Also, the moon is home to abundant resources. Its soil contains raw materials that might be harvested and processed into rocket fuel or breathable air." Spare me. There are "abundant resources" in Antarctica, which can be reached at one-zillionth the price of reaching the moon; yet commerce is not exactly booming there. At some future point, there may be manufacturing on the moon, but, until there are breakthroughs that drastically reduce the price of escaping Earth's gravity, claims about manufacturing on the moon are either drivel written by a funding-seeking aerospace lobbyist or the product of wishful thinking.

If the program cost of the International Space Station, which doesn't leave orbit, is about $100 billion, landing an equivalent structure on the moon might require $200 billion. And, still, all you'd have at your moon base is what the space station has—a couple of small science "modules," cramped living quarters, life-support devices, supplies, solar panels, and antennae. That is to say: no mining or manufacturing equipment. To move mining equipment to the moon and then build a rocks-processing facility (powered by the nuclear reactors you'd have to bring) and then add manufacturing equipment to refine raw materials into fuel or air that is of high-enough purity to be used in space missions, you could easily spend several hundred billion dollars—not exactly a way to *save* money.

It is far more efficient for any weight bound for Mars to depart directly from Earth orbit—which is why real Mars enthusiasts dread any mention of a moon base. Calculations show that a spacecraft stopping at the moon on its way to Mars would expend at least two-thirds of its weight, as fuel, to land and take off again. So, in order for our 1,000-ton, Mars-bound mission to stop at the moon base—whose motto would read, THAT'S ONE SMALL STEP FOR A MAN, ONE GIANT LEAP FOR FUNDING—its weight on departure from Earth's orbit would have to be 3,000 tons, catapulting the Mars mission's cost northward of $1 trillion!

In short, when you hear President Bush say that moon manufacturing will cut the cost of space flight, mentally substitute the phrase, "I have absolutely no idea what I am talking about." We might not expect Bush, or any president, to understand that the moon has no place in a Mars mission. But his science advisers should.

MADDENINGLY, BUSH'S MOONSTRUCK condition might foul up the one part of NASA that works well: the space-science division. It sponsors unmanned probes like *Spirit* and built the four space telescopes that have scanned the universe on the visual, X-ray, gamma-ray, and infrared spectra.

Bush declared that $11 billion of the initial $12 billion he seeks for the moon-Mars initiative over the next five years would not be new money, merely funds "reprogrammed" from NASA's current annual budget of about $15 billion. Right now NASA's budget has four general components: space science, space shuttle operation, space-station operation, and funding for NASA's major centers in Alabama, California, Florida, Maryland, and Ohio. If $11 billion is to be taken away from existing Agency commitments, it can't come out of space-station support, since Bush just vowed to complete the space station. Nor can much come out of space shuttle funding, since the shuttles are needed to complete the station. Finally, little can be taken from NASA operations-centers funding, because they are politically well-connected. (The congressional delegations of Alabama, California, Florida, Maryland, and Ohio are NASA's biggest backers on the Hill and will raise shields and fire phasers if their states' budgets are touched.)

That means the only way to get that $11 billion will be to cut space science. Just two days after Bush made his moon-Mars announcement, NASA canceled a planned mission to service the Hubble Space Telescope, whose batteries and gyroscopes are wearing out. This ensures the Hubble—one of NASA's few all-around success stories since the *Apollo* heyday (Hubble was repaired in orbit in the biggest achievement for the astronaut corps since *Apollo 13* and has provided nearly all of humanity's best pictures of deep space)—will fail in the next few years. NASA is already building an advanced telescope to supplant the Hubble, but, with astronomers waiting months or years to book time on space telescopes, the science community would have been very happy to keep the Hubble running even as the newer model is launched. The Hubble, a magnificent tool of science, cost about $3 billion to build, launch, and then fix. Now NASA will let it fail to free up money that can be poured down the moon-Mars drain.

FINALLY, NOTE THAT, while Bush announced a bold, sweeping vision of humanity "headed into the cosmos," he left all the big problems for someone else. Bush enunciated a timeline for moon and Mars ventures in which, by the strangest coincidence, nothing happens until 2008—when a two-term W. would be preparing to leave office. Bush gets to announce the sweeping vision; somebody else gets stuck with the cosmic clunkers his plan will create. It was 1961 when John F. Kennedy announced his goal of putting a man on the moon by the end of the decade; that meant that nearly all the program's problems, setbacks, and funding crunches would have come during a two-term JFK administration. Kennedy put his reputation on the line. Bush is risking nothing, while offering blank checks to the aerospace contractors that will donate to his reelection campaign.

Bush's space vision is not Kennedyesque; it is Agnewesque. As prosecutors began to sniff the bribery scandal that ultimately drove him to resign the vice-presidency, Spiro Agnew made speeches predicting a Mars landing by the end of the twentieth century. He hoped to divert attention from his legal troubles and to sound Kennedyesque. Now Bush has made a Mars pronouncement no more substantive or well-thought-out than Agnew's. Similar non-results are likely, though this time at higher cost. ■

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Campaign Journal

Mo' Better

BY RYAN LIZZA

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, NEWTON, IOWA

AFTER A TEETH-CHATTERING ride on a propeller plane from Minneapolis, I arrive in Des Moines on Friday, three days before the Iowa caucuses. I was last here a week ago, and what a difference a week makes. Flights in are crowded with equipment from German, Japanese, and Dutch film crews. The rental-car agents at the airport buzz about catching glimpses of "Miss Paula Zahn." Out on the roads, satellite trucks are a common sight.

Howard Dean is rolling through the state on his "People Powered Road Trip," and I catch up with it in Newton, a town best-known for its Maytag factory. Dean is speaking at Aces Teen Club, a community center on the outskirts of town; I park in front of the Newton Christian School next door, noting that a woman is standing in front of, perhaps even guarding, the door to the school. She eyes the chaos of the event at Aces a little warily.

A man dressed as a giant carrot with a blue bow tie and Uncle Sam hat is greeting people on their way into the community center. "You may be asking yourself, 'Why on earth would I vote for a talking vegetable?' or 'What can he do for me?'" Chris P. Carrot's literature says. "I have found the weapons of mass destruction, and they are in your kitchen drawer! America, we need to remove the terror—from the kitchen table." Carrot, it turns out, has been sent out by the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals to spread the word about vegan and vegetarian diets. Alongside him, college kids dressed in orange jumpsuits promote renewable energy.

Over in the press section, Dean-doubting is the story of the day. It's hard to exaggerate how much the Zogby tracking polls have driven coverage of the race in these final days before Monday night's caucuses. Dean and Richard Gephardt are stalled or dropping, while John Kerry and John Edwards are moving, according to the polls. The media is playing this up as a battle between the organization (or "org") candidates, Dean and Gephardt, who have the most people on the ground here, and the momentum (or "mo") candidates, Kerry and Edwards, who seem to be generating the most enthusiasm. Of course, everyone agrees that, this being a caucus, the polls are almost meaningless. Nonetheless, everyone pores over them for hidden clues to what will happen here.

This article was adapted from entries in Ryan Lizza's online CAMPAIGN JOURNAL, *updated daily at* TNR.COM.

Maybe I'm just caught up in the dynamics of the pack, but Dean does not look like a man on the eve of a great victory. At the two Friday events I attend—in Newton and, a couple of hours later, in Marshalltown—the venues are not overflowing. On my way into the gymnasium at Aces, an aide shouts the sentence that every campaign dreads to hear at this stage in the game: "There are still some seats left inside." In Marshalltown, many of the bodies in the room are not local Iowans but "perfect-stormers," the out-of-state Dean volunteers marked by their telltale fluorescent orange hats. Here, Dean is introduced prematurely by a nasal-voiced college kid in an oversized Dean T-shirt. Aides scramble to find Dean outside and usher him onto the stage. The vibe from staffers is a tad defensive. Without being asked, a senior adviser tells me, "This is Gephardt country. I was surprised we got fifty people." The mood of the crowd is divided. The obvious Dean partisans holler and cheer. The undecided folks, who are here making their final assessments of the candidates before caucus night, applaud politely. "Where is his wife?" an older woman asks one Dean aide. When told that she practices medicine in Vermont, the woman responds, "Well, doesn't she want to campaign with him?"

Traveling with Dean is Iowa Senator Tom Harkin, who not only opens but closes the candidate's appearances. "This is the Harry Truman of our time," Harkin says at every stop. The senator has counseled Dean to scale back his negative attacks, and, perhaps as a consequence, Dean's stump speech doesn't have the same edge or coherence it once did. There have been two basic messages Dean has delivered over the last year. One was his attack on the Washington candidates for supporting the war and other Bush policies. The other, once his campaign took off, was a message of process—vote for Dean because he's the only candidate who will have the resources to defeat President Bush. But, in Iowa at least, these two messages seem to have reached a point of diminishing returns. *USA Today*'s Walter Shapiro, who has covered Dean closely since 2002, notes, "He seems like an aging rocker delivering his old tunes."

After the Newton event, staff and reporters spill outside and pile into the 15-vehicle caravan that will carry them to Marshalltown. At the same time, dozens of kids spill out of the Newton Christian School next door and line up for their rides home. They don't seem to be from Dean households. "Is that Howard Dean?" one asks, pointing to a man who is not Dean. "He's in jeans. How unpatriotic!" Another kid yells, "Go George Bush!" A schoolboy, who has apparently memorized the jingle from one of Dean's endlessly playing TV commercials, mockingly yells at the passing caravan, "I'm Howard Dean. The power to take the county back is in *your* hands, not mine!"

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, DES MOINES, IOWA

JOE TRIPPI, DEAN'S campaign manager and strategic guru, has a room a few doors away from mine here at the Hotel Fort Des Moines. This morning, we both happen to leave at the same time, and we talk on the

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elevator ride down to the lobby.

Trippi on the media's current fixation with the Kerry and Edwards surges: "I don't know what they expect. They hammered the living daylights out of us. Let's see how these guys look after they've hammered the living daylights out of them, 'cause it's gonna happen. But about what's going to happen on Monday? Give me a break. It's Gephardt or Dean."

Trippi on why it's *intensity* of support that really matters: "You go out and go door to door, and you get a whole lot of 'I like Kerry.' 'Are you gonna go to the caucus?' 'I don't like him that much.' ... And it's not just here; it's everywhere. They can't get anybody to be *for* them."

Trippi on the uselessness of appealing to undecided voters: "The undecideds aren't going to vote! I mean, they are going to vote, but they are going to vote undecided. ... Undecideds don't break here. Every year. Does anybody go back and look at results before they cover the state? They never break! Never! There's, like, no year in which they ever broke. They walk in, they vote undecided."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, IOWA FALLS, IOWA

APART FROM THE birth of the Dean phenomenon last year, I haven't witnessed anything in this campaign as exciting as the John Edwards appearances I have attended the last couple of days. Dean events are like Grateful Dead concerts, where the faithful show up and groove to their favorite hits. (In case this sounds like I'm stereotyping Dean supporters as hippies, please note that this analogy was offered to me by Dean media adviser Steve McMahon.) Edwards events, by contrast, are like watching a roomful of formerly deaf people listen to music for the first time. People walk in as skeptics and leave as believers.

There is a local rule of thumb popularized by David Yepsen of *The Des Moines Register* that says, if an Iowan is sitting back in his chair with his arms folded across his chest, that's a sure sign the candidate has yet to win him over. While I wait with about 150 other people for Edwards to arrive at a community college in Iowa Falls on Saturday night, I spot one such man, Dennis Reynoldson. He is 61 years old and has never been to a caucus in his life. "I'm not even a Democrat," he tells me. "I'm an independent, but I'm going to switch." He says he voted for Al Gore but "wasn't all that disappointed when Bush won." But, after the Bush tax cuts and the war, he has decided Bush has to go. His only question now is which Democrat to support.

When Edwards arrives, he and his staff seem giddy. They've just learned that the eagerly awaited *Des Moines Register* poll shows Edwards, who had never polled higher than the low single digits in that survey, in second place with 23 percent. Edwards's presentation at these events has lately become more intense and theatrical. He arrives and departs to rock music blaring from his bus. He draws huge crowds that spill outside of union halls and community centers. He delivers his stump speech in a theater-in-the-round setting, standing dramatically in the center of a circle of Iowans. His longtime message of tying his own working-class background to a set of policies meant to address middle-class anxiety remains unchanged. Grafted onto it more recently is lots of language about hope, optimism, and an end to the petty sniping that has characterized the campaign.

Unlike the other candidates, Edwards is still relatively unknown to most of the people at his events. Many have come out because they watched his final debate appearance, which won rave reviews, or read that he was endorsed by *The Des Moines Register*. You can actually feel the crowd metamorphose from folded-arm skepticism to open-minded curiosity to head-nodding support. "The truth of the matter is this," Edwards says in his closing argument at one stop. "We Democrats have always been the party that believes you don't look down on anybody. That you lift people up. That you don't tear people apart. You bring them together. We are the party that believes that, in our America, the family you're born into and the color of your skin will never control what you're able to do. I don't for a minute believe I can do this by myself. But I believe that you and I can do it together. Here's why: Because I believe in you. And you deserve a president who actually believes in you. Join me in this campaign! Join me in this fight! ..." The rest is drowned out by a standing ovation.

After the end of the Iowa Falls event, I find Dennis Reynoldson again. What does he think now? Edwards is "a good man," he tells me. "I like him. I'm going to vote for him. Now excuse me, I'm going to go shake his hand."

What's so fascinating about this late Edwards surge is how organic it is. Edwards has few big-name endorsements. He has no unions backing him. He has few out-of-state volunteers. "We don't have any external support," Roxanne Conlin, a leader of Edwards's Iowa campaign, exhorts the crowds at every stop. "We're counting on *you*." The campaign's method of spreading the fire they have ignited here is as low-tech as begging audiences to go home and call everyone on their Christmas card lists.

Within 48 hours, pundits have both blessed Edwards as the late-closing "it" candidate and dismissed the surge as too little too late. Caucuses, everyone seems to agree, don't reward a candidate with a late spike in the polls unless he or she has already built the delivery mechanism to take advantage of it. Still, there are two reasons not to dismiss Edwards. The first is Jennifer O'Malley, Edwards's field director. Operatives like Michael Whouley of the Kerry campaign have rightfully received much attention lately. But O'Malley has a victory under her belt that's worth remembering: She was the field organizer for Senator Tim Johnson in 2002, one of the few campaigns in the last cycle where the Democrats convincingly beat the Republicans on the ground.

A second reason for hope is that, even if O'Malley doesn't get Edwards people to the caucuses, maybe all those Teamsters and teens working for Gephardt and Dean will. The Iowans moving into the Edwards column are not just undecided voters. Many of them are people having sec-

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ond thoughts about their first-choice candidate. For example, on Friday I met a man named Robert Bell, a Gephardt supporter. And not just any Gephardt supporter. Bell is the guy Iowans see on television in Gephardt advertisements and in their mailboxes on Gephardt campaign literature. But I met him at an Edwards event in Winterset, Iowa, where he seemed to be swooning along with the rest of the crowd. He said that Edwards was "tugging" at him. "I like Dick, and I've known him for several years," Bell told me with a voice that suggested loyalty rather than passion. But does he wish he were backing Edwards? "Sometimes." Bell didn't sound like he was switching. But what if many of the folks the other campaigns believe are solidly behind their candidate do? It's not inconceivable that Kerry, Gephardt, and Dean will bring some of these people to the polls or at least call them up and urge them to get out and vote. "Our people may be going because of the help of the other campaigns," says David Ginsberg, Edwards's communications director. It sounds like wishful thinking. But, as Edwards says in his stump speech, his campaign is one based on hope.

MONDAY, JANUARY 19, AMES, IOWA

IT'S LATE AFTERNOON, and John Kerry is standing on a chair in a crowded high school basement in Ames. This is his last speech in Iowa before the caucuses. His brother Cam, a longtime adviser who has been at Kerry's side in every campaign since Kerry's failed 1972 congressional race, stands a few feet away, beaming. Two nights earlier, Cam could be found gently mocking the media, practically quoting verbatim from the political obituaries written about Kerry over the last six months. Today, Kerry is leading in all the polls, and the campaign is brimming with confidence.

A few feet away is Jim Rassmann, a man whose life Kerry saved in Vietnam and who started traveling with the senator in the final days of the campaign here. Rassmann is straight out of central casting, a Republican from Oregon who hadn't seen Kerry since 1969. He contacted the campaign on a lark and was flown to Iowa within 24 hours. He testifies to the still-undecided crowds that, when Kerry "looks into your eyes, you're going to see a man of character." It's the perfect complement to the Kerry campaign's first effort to organize some 10,000 Iowa veterans.

Up on his chair, Kerry implores the gathered crowd, "Go to your caucuses tonight, and don't just send them a message, send them a president of the United States, so we can say, 'Mission accomplished!' " His eyes are a little moist. "I think this was really emotional for him," an aide tells me after the event.

From Ames, Kerry travels to Urbandale High School outside Des Moines to greet caucusgoers. As he enters the building, Kerry runs into a chaotic scene: Several caucuses are about to commence throughout the building, and Iowans are swarming around searching for their meetings. "Where are the undecideds?" he asks, stepping inside from the cold. Again, according to the pros, this is folly: As Trippi explained to me, the undecideds don't break at the last minute—they just vote undecided. But, minutes before the caucuses begin, Kerry is still scrounging for votes. "How do I get you over the edge here?" he asks one woman.

After Kerry leaves, I stick around to watch the caucus. The attendees break into their presidential preference groups, and the numbers look like this: 40 people for Kerry, 44 for Edwards, 26 for Dean, and 9 for Gephardt. Then the caucus chair announces that the Gephardt supporters are not viable, and the Kerry and Edwards precinct captains descend upon them like wild dogs. Corey Goerdt, the 18-year-old Edwards captain, tells a caucusgoer to choose his candidate over Kerry, because the Massachusetts senator "is not going to work in the South." He's also prepared to make the case against Dean if he needs to, thanks to a thick caucus field manual containing persuasion scripts that he was issued by the Edwards campaign. Though it's marked "privileged and confidential," Goerdt lets me flip through it. The way to contrast Edwards with Dean, it says, is to compare Dean's biography with Edwards's son-of-a-mill-worker upbringing. "Howard Dean is a Park Avenue elitist," it advises Edwards supporters to say. But Goerdt doesn't wind up needing this advice. By the time the Dean captain at this caucus figures out that he's supposed to be picking up undecideds and former Gephardt people, the Edwards and Kerry teams have already divvied them up between themselves. Final score: Kerry 53, Edwards 51, Dean 26. It's a result that is repeated, more or less, across the entire state.

At 8:50 p.m., I'm riding an elevator up to the tenth floor of the Hotel Fort Des Moines with Marvin Nicholson, Kerry's body man, and half a dozen other Kerry supporters. Nicholson has Howard Dean on the line. "Governor?" he asks, holding a silver flip-phone up to his ear and flashing a giant, toothy grin to the rest of us. Dean is calling Kerry to concede, but he'll have to wait a little longer. "I'll have the senator on the phone in two minutes," Marvin says politely. He exits the elevator and walks down the hall to suite 1014, where Kerry is sitting with his family. "Senator, Governor Dean is on the phone." "Thank you very much," Kerry says, taking the phone. He walks into the bedroom alone and closes the door behind him.

Later, at the Kerry victory party downstairs, giddy aides chatter happily about how overhyped and amateurish the Dean ground game was. "The Dean people were on the corner of the street in downtown Des Moines *waving signs*," one woman laughs into her cell phone. "They had no sense of organization." The Dean campaign called it the "perfect storm," which produces chuckles from Holly Armstrong, a Kerry organizer. "I kept telling everybody," she explains, "in *The Perfect Storm,* everybody dies at the end."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

WHY DID DEAN'S Iowa campaign die at the end? For starters, Trippi (and many analysts) were spectacularly wrong about the undecideds. They broke with a vengeance

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for Kerry and Edwards. Forty-four percent of caucusgoers made their decision in the final week, and, of those, Kerry won 39 percent, Edwards won 35 percent, and Dean just 14 percent. Other conversations I had with senior Dean advisers over the final two weeks of the Iowa campaign also seem delusional in hindsight—for example, loose talk about their plans for the general election and guffaws about the coming irrelevance of the Democratic Leadership Council and its allies. The night before the caucuses, aides were still vigorously defending an attack ad about the Iraq war they had run on Iowa TV—an ad they now concede was disastrous. Moderates, and even some liberals, who were intrigued by Dean started bailing on him beginning in December, because rather than trying to expand his base and broaden his message Dean turned sharply left. After he funded his campaign and fired up the base, the argument had gone, he would shift back to the center. But his campaign became intoxicated by the fumes of its own supporters and morphed ever closer to its worst caricatures, peaking with Dean's perhaps suicidal concession speech to hundreds of his perfect-stormers at the Val Air Ballroom in Des Moines.

Trippi's fear that high turnout would turn the caucuses into a virtual primary also came true. But the Dean grassroots backfired on Dean in two additional ways. First, the 3,000 or 4,000 people that came to the state on Dean's behalf may have alienated just as many Iowans as they pulled to the caucuses. There is undoubtedly a strong antiwar streak among Iowa Democrats, but they are not, for the most part, lifestyle liberals. When hordes of kids with dyed hair and multiple piercings descended upon the state to spread Dean's message with Scientology-like evangelism, Kerry began to look real good. Second, the organizational potential of the Dean army was exaggerated. I was struck by a conversation I had the night before the caucuses with a Dean perfect-stormer named Larry. I asked him what he would be doing the next day. He had no idea. "It's too damn cold to canvass," he said. And Larry is from *Minneapolis*. Even apart from the apathy of some Deaniacs, one has to wonder if the Dean campaign didn't waste enormous organizational resources figuring out how to move thousands of volunteers into and around Iowa at the expense of figuring out how to move thousands of Iowans to their caucuses.

Dean's aides insist that just because nothing worked right for the Dean campaign in Iowa doesn't mean New Hampshire will be a similar debacle. The big-name political endorsements—Gore, Bradley, Harkin—Dean racked up during his halcyon days didn't help, and arguably hurt, him. But his two most significant institutional backers, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and the Service Employees International Union, haven't been tested yet. They will be much more of a factor in New Hampshire—not to mention in New York and California, if Dean makes it to Super Tuesday on March 2. And, while Dean's bizarre election night rant is remembered for the image it produced, what he said had a germ of truth in it: He does have a national campaign and the resources to compete into the spring.

Indeed, the day after that manic concession speech, Dean is in New Hampshire, trying to shift back toward his moderate, problem-solver roots. At an event in Manchester, he tells reporters, "This is a good opportunity for me to get back to the issues that got me into the race in the first place: balanced budgets, human services, and a sense of community we don't seem to have anymore." It's a far different message from the one that dominated his Iowa campaign in its final weeks. But there is a nagging sense on the ground and in the polling data here in New Hampshire that no stump-speech tinkering can overcome the self-inflicted wounds of the Val Air scream. Dean can shift to a new message, but he may never be able to shake that one image. ■

Is Kerry really the most electable Democrat?

Bring It On?

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

MASSACHUSETTS SENATOR JOHN Kerry likes to say that, if he's the Democratic nominee and President Bush wants to make the election a referendum on national security, he has just three words to say: "Bring It On!" But what if Kerry becomes the nominee and Bush wants to make the election more than a referendum on national security? What would the Republicans bring on then?

In all likelihood, they would hammer Kerry for his opposition to mandatory minimum sentences for dealers who sell drugs to children and for voting against the death penalty for terrorists. They would mock his efforts to provide cash benefits to drug addicts and alcoholics, and his onetime opposition to a modest work requirement for welfare recipients. They would trash him for supporting more than half a trillion dollars in tax increases—including hikes in gas taxes and Social Security taxes on ordinary Americans—while accepting free housing and other goodies for himself from

Michael Grunwald is writing a book about the Everglades.

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friendly influence-peddlers. They would even point out that, when Kerry served as lieutenant governor under one Michael S. Dukakis, Massachusetts famously furloughed more than 500 murderers and sex offenders under a program Kerry later defended as tough.

In fact, they already have.

In 1996, Republican Governor William Weld ran an aggressive campaign for Kerry's Massachusetts Senate seat, blasting him as a soft-on-crime, soft-on-welfare, crazed-on-taxes paleoliberal. He accused Kerry of siding with murderers and junkies over victims and taxpayers; he ran one ad with the slogan: "FREE RENT FOR KERRY. HIGHER TAXES FOR US."

It didn't quite work. Weld was the wrong guy, 1996 was the wrong year, and Massachusetts was the wrong state for a chest-thumping, red-meat, ditch-the-wuss conservative message. Kerry relentlessly linked Weld to the Republican bogeymen Newt Gingrich, Trent Lott, and Bob Dole, energizing his state's powerful labor unions and yellow-dog Democratic establishment, and he managed to escape with a seven-point victory in a state where Bill Clinton thrashed Dole by 34 points. But George W. Bush is not Bill Weld, 2004 is not 1996, and the United States most assuredly is not Massachusetts.

JOHN KERRY FOUGHT honorably in Vietnam and had the courage and conscience to oppose the war when he came home. He has a compelling resumé, a spectacularly rich wife, and a craggy Andrew Jacksonesque face that was made for Mount Rushmore. He is definitely no Ted Kennedy (even if they do seem joined at the hip these days) or Howard Dean. He's a proud member of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, and he voted for NAFTA, welfare reform, and the authorization of force in Iraq. "He has spent the last seven months answering ridiculous charges on whether he's Bush Lite," says Sarah Bianchi, Kerry's policy director. "He's not the lefty in this race." In Iowa, Kerry successfully sold himself as the electable alternative to Dean, as a war hero with foreign and domestic policy experience who refuses to raise taxes on the middle class, a rugged ice-hockey player who can't be caricatured as an out-of-the-mainstream latte liberal.

But that is exactly how Kerry was portrayed by Weld, a centrist Republican who actually shared Kerry's support for gay rights, partial-birth abortion, the National Endowment for the Arts, and affirmative action. Weld never even mentioned that Kerry was one of only 14 senators to vote against the Defense of Marriage Act, or that he sponsored the first federal gay civil rights bill, or that he voted to protect partial-birth abortion—stances popular with his constituents (and with this magazine) but not with the American electorate. George W. Bush would.

"I'm sure the Republicans would attack him as a liberal," Bianchi says. "Even if every vote he had ever taken was right in line with the American public, they'd attack him as a liberal. They'd do the same thing to John Edwards or Joe Lieberman. They'd do it to anyone."

She's right. It is probably inevitable that Karl Rove and the $100 million-plus Bush campaign juggernaut will try to tag any Democratic opponent as a Chablis-sipping, leftist elitist. But the record of Kerry, who has represented a liberal state in the Senate for 20 years and has often voted accordingly, provides a good deal more fodder for such attacks than the studied centrism of Lieberman or the shorter resumés of Edwards or Wesley Clark. Moreover, Weld has already shown what these attacks would look like—even with his far-right hand tied behind his back. Yes, some of Weld's punches landed below Kerry's belt. But they were rooted in facts, and Rove would hit much harder. This is one reason long-serving senators have so much trouble getting elected president; they have to vote on bills they did not design, and those votes end up in opposition research.

I helped cover the Weld-Kerry race for *The Boston Globe*, and I happen to have the Weld campaign's 95-page dossier of opposition research. I'm sure Rove has a copy, too. I don't know if the attacks that ultimately backfired on Weld in the Bay State, where one-eighth of the electorate was Republican in 1996, would work for Bush in the rest of the United States, where one-third of the electorate is Republican in 2004. But I suspect that, if Kerry is the nominee, we'll find out.

SENATOR KERRY DESCRIBES himself as a deficit hawk, so, in 1994, he was furious when the deficit-busting Concord Coalition gave him a failing grade of 29 percent for fiscal responsibility. In a blustery response to the *Globe*'s Jill Zuckman, he complained (with justification) that the Coalition's methodology had made him look less responsible than he really is: "It doesn't reflect ... my support for a 50-cent increase in the gas tax." He was right. It didn't. But, once the *Globe* corrected that omission, Weld took the opportunity to blast Kerry's support for a 50-cent increase in the gas tax almost daily during the Senate race.

In a campaign devoted almost exclusively to his "holy trinity" of crime, welfare, and taxes, taxes were Weld's holiest of holies. And Kerry provided plenty of ammunition. Kerry had been the number-two official in the Dukakis regime that raised state gas taxes two cents in 1983; he had supported a budget that would have raised federal gas taxes six cents in 1990; he had voted for President Clinton's budget, which did raise gas taxes four cents, in 1993. "What is it with you and the gas tax, senator?" Weld grilled him during one of their seven debates. "That's not exactly a tax reserved for the wealthy." As Kerry pointed out, there are excellent fiscal, environmental, and international arguments for gas taxes; they raise revenue, discourage fuel consumption, and reduce dependence on foreign oil. But, politically, gas taxes are a loser—especially now that Kerry is positioning himself as the anti-Dean Democrat who refuses to raise taxes on the middle class.

Which is not something Kerry has always refused to do. Kerry insisted in one of his debates with Weld that he had

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never voted to raise income taxes on people earning less than $100,000 per year, but the Clinton budget that passed by the margin of Kerry's vote raised taxes on millions of middle-income retirees by subjecting more of their Social Security benefits to taxation. Kerry himself had acknowledged this in his speech on the Senate floor: "The bill also raises taxes—seventy-five percent from those who make over one hundred thousand dollars and twenty-five percent from those who make between thirty thousand and one hundred thousand dollars. I wish we did not need to raise taxes, but every serious economist ... has admitted that the budget cannot be balanced without increasing taxes somewhat." Kerry also voted to eliminate a $500-per-child tax credit from the 1996 Senate budget resolution—a credit even liberals like Barbara Boxer and Tom Harkin voted to preserve. He supported the 1988 catastrophic health insurance bill that imposed a surtax on Medicare recipients of up to $800 per year, then admitted the surtax was "unfair" when it was repealed unanimously the next year. And he told me in a 1996 interview that it was "wacky" that Social Security taxes did not apply to income over $62,700—the same interview in which he said Congress should consider raising the retirement age and means-testing benefits.

During the campaign, Kerry argued that Weld was taking his votes and statements out of context, that the Clinton budget deal was leading the United States back to balanced budgets, that the ill-fated catastrophic health bill had overwhelming bipartisan support, that senators often have to make up-or-down choices about bills and amendments that might not be entirely to their liking. He called Weld's continuous harping on the gas tax "pandering of the worst order," and claimed that, overall, he had voted to cut taxes on workers earning less than $75,000 per year. Those were all reasonable arguments. "See, governor, what you keep doing—you've done it in every debate, and you're doing it in your negative advertising that you've started—is you take a little individual vote, and you play a game with it," Kerry complained in one of the debates.

That game, however, is called politics. And it seems plausible that, if Kerry is still playing come the general election, Bush will mention taxes now and then, and might not always provide the full context for Kerry's votes. Bush might even be tempted to repeat that memorable phrase: "I wish we did not need to raise taxes, but ... ."

Incidentally, now that he's running nationally, Kerry no longer supports a 50-cent gas-tax hike. "The world we're living in today is very different," says staffer Michael Meehan, who worked for Kerry in 1996 as well.

"THEIR ONLY DISABILITY was an addiction to drugs and alcohol," the announcer grimly declared. "Yet they still received federal checks. Federal investigators called the system 'out of control.'" The grainy black-and-white Weld ad showed an addict using his benefits to get high, then an alcoholic drowning his sorrows at federal expense. "Incredibly, John Kerry *twice* introduced legislation to keep paying monthly checks to alcoholics and drug addicts whose only disability was their addiction!"

It was an edgy spot, savaged by Kerry as "the most duplicitous and brazen distortion I've ever seen." But it was factually accurate. On September 8, 1994, Kerry offered two amendments to a Senate welfare-reform bill, both designed "to provide Supplemental Security Income benefits to persons who are disabled by reason of drug or alcohol abuse." Kerry argued that Weld's attacks were misleading because the program's excesses had been corrected, addicts would have been required to seek treatment in order to receive benefits in the future, and many impoverished Vietnam veterans who were still struggling with substance-abuse problems would have gone hungry without them. But the program was shut down despite his objections. And Weld never tired of pointing out that Kerry had tried to give cash to crack-heads.

Welfare and crime were not particularly urgent issues in the 1996 election. Welfare rolls and crime statistics were both declining, and Clinton had signed welfare reform and crime bills with Kerry's support. But Weld used both issues to portray Kerry as a hopelessly naïve liberal, showering money on druggies in the hope they'd do the right thing, coddling criminals instead of locking them up and killing them dead. Once again, he cherry-picked the most liberal-sounding nuggets from Kerry's voting record and public statements. But the fact that they were cherry-picked did not make them sound any less liberal.

Weld's favorite Kerry quotation came from a debate over a 1988 welfare reform bill: "It contains provisions troublesome to me, such as the sixteen-hour weekly work requirement for two-parent families receiving benefits." Sixteen hours per week was troublesome? In a debate, Kerry explained that he wanted to focus reforms on single-parent families, but, as Weld pointed out, in two-parent families, it makes even more sense that at least one parent should work. Kerry did support the final GOP welfare-reform bill in 1996, but not before voting against "learnfare" rules allowing states to deny benefits to parents whose children blew off school and a "family cap" that stopped states from boosting benefits for recipients who had more children while on welfare. "You're elbow-deep in the entitlement mentality," Weld taunted him.

Weld hit even harder on criminal justice issues, airing ads cluttered with menacing gang members and slamming jail doors. "John Kerry has voted against mandatory sentences for vicious criminals selling drugs to kids," one proclaimed, as a syringe dropped to the street. And it was true—Kerry voted against amendments to establish mandatory minimums for gang activity, gun offenses, and, yes, selling drugs to minors. Kerry's argument that mandatory sentences tie the hands of judges was certainly a legitimate one, but he didn't do himself any favors by appearing to make excuses for drug crimes in his Senate speech: "What happens if it is the minor's best friend, who is also a minor, who sells the

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drugs? Or what happens if it is somebody who is twenty years old, a college friend who has never been in trouble, who happens to be at a party, and who sold some drugs to another minor? ... We have people today in jail under mandatory sentencing provisions for drug use who have been there for four or five years, who are so barely culpable it is sad." If Kerry is the nominee, the phrase "so barely culpable it is sad" might start rolling off the tongues of a few presidential surrogates. They might also mention that Kerry was one of only seven senators who voted to kill an amendment requiring random drug and alcohol testing for airline pilots and other safety-related personnel in the transportation industry.

Kerry is also philosophically opposed to capital punishment. He has voted against the death penalty for murderous drug traffickers, murderous carjackers, and cop killers. It's a courageous stand, but it didn't work too well for Dukakis against the first George Bush; even Massachusetts residents overwhelmingly support capital punishment, and the second George Bush was of course the leading practitioner of capital punishment in Texas. In one debate, Weld marveled that Kerry even voted against the death penalty for terrorists, but Kerry still refused to budge, accusing Weld of grandstanding and demagoguery, arguing that foreign nations might refuse to extradite captured terrorists if the United States were to adopt a federal death penalty. "Your policy is a terrorist-protection policy," Kerry snorted.

Now it's Kerry's policy, too. He changed his mind before he started running for president and now favors a death-penalty exception for terrorists. "The terrorists have declared war against America," Meehan explains. "The rules of engagement are different now." Bianchi says Kerry now supports mandatory minimums for drug dealers who sell to children as well.

KERRY'S LIBERAL RECORD was not the only issue that hurt him against Weld and could again in a race against Bush. In one Weld-Kerry debate, *Boston Herald* columnist Marjory Eagan confronted the senator with an observation that would have been startling if it hadn't become so commonplace: "I wonder if you've given any thought to why voters don't seem that fond of you as a person." Kerry responded that he is sometimes too aloof, but, for whatever reason, he does seem to rub people the wrong way (see Michael Crowley, "The Makeover," June 3, 2002).

In any case, Kerry's character became a vital issue in his race against Weld. At first, both candidates agreed that elections should not be popularity contests; Weld declared that voters didn't care "which one of us is Betty Co-ed's idea of a date." But then *Globe* and *Herald* reporters—not me—started digging up dirt on Kerry's finances. First, it came out that his supporters had treated him to meals and more lucrative freebies in the '80s: a car he "leased" for 16 months without any payments, a ritzy condo he rented for $200 per month from a friendly developer, a no-risk $21,000 real estate windfall arranged by a top fund-raiser, a lobbyist's $8,000-per-month waterfront apartment where he crashed without paying. Then it came out that Kerry had given less than 1 percent of his earnings to charity before marrying Teresa Heinz. And, when Kerry claimed he had been strapped for cash because his kids were in private school, it came out that he had bought a handmade, ruby red, $8,600 Ducati motorcycle the same year he had given only $175 to charity. "What is he doing with all his money?" Weld asked. "I mean, he's making one hundred thirty thousand dollars a year. He's got free meals, free cars, and free housing. And he can't throw a few bucks to the United Way? Come on!"

It wasn't Watergate, but the scandal did suggest a political version of the entitlement mentality, a kind of Ducati liberalism. "That's the beautiful thing about campaigns," Meehan says. "You learn lessons. He said, 'You know what, I didn't do so well with contributions. I'm going to do better in the future.' " And he has done better. Of course, when he made that vow to do better, he had just married a ketchup heiress worth half a billion dollars.

IT BEARS REMEMBERING, though, that despite the withering attacks Kerry faced in 1996 he *won*, beating a charming, successful governor who had just been re-elected with 71 percent of the vote. Kerry was lucky that a right-wing candidate siphoned off 3 percent of the Republican vote, and that Clinton campaigned for him, and that many voters wanted to keep Weld as governor. Kerry was especially lucky that Weld ran a 1994 campaign of Republican anger in sunny Democratic 1996, alienating women with his caveman tone and exclusive focus on three macho-man issues. But Kerry was not merely lucky. In one debate, Weld unexpectedly introduced the mother of a slain police officer and challenged Kerry to look her in the eye and explain why her son's life was worth less than his murderer's life. It was the kind of raw death-penalty moment that destroyed Dukakis. But Kerry shot Weld a nasty glare and softly responded: "I know something about killing. I don't like killing. That's just a personal belief I have." It would be fun to watch Bush try to respond to that.

Ultimately, electability is like the New England weather: Everybody talks about it, but nobody really knows how to predict it months in advance. John Kerry knows that, if he does become the Democratic nominee, Bush is going to do more than bring it on. He's going to pour it on, in ways that Weld never could. "Of course they'd attack," Meehan says. "John Kerry is ready for those attacks. He'll push right back. And he'll talk about his service to his country." For Kerry's team, that's what makes him electable, much more than the specifics of his record. In fact, his aides are already contrasting Kerry's early years as a warrior, protester, prosecutor, and legislator to Bush's early years as a drinker. At least he had a record, they say. "George Bush was missing for a year in the National Guard," Bianchi says. "That didn't make him unelectable." Then again, Bush didn't spend 20 years as a Massachusetts senator. ■

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

Major Mysteries

THE SUBJECT OF GENIUS worries the film world—artistic genius especially. Some geniuses had such romance-novel lives that they seem to beg for dramatization. But difficulties arise. First, the biographical facts were not arranged by the fine fingers of art but by the coarse hands of life. Rearrangements are bothersome. Second, even tougher, how do you show genius? Writers are poor subjects. The writer labors at a desk—he could be scribbling a laundry list—then says, "At last it's finished! *Crime and Punishment*!" It is even harder with performing artists, where it is necessary actually to display genius. Edwin Booth, Isadora Duncan, and Vaslav Nijinsky have all been embodied on film, alas. Their places in history are still secure. Composers have a somewhat better chance: at least we can hear, after externalized scenes of Promethean inner struggle, a snatch of Beethoven. But painters are the best film subjects. Rembrandt or Van Gogh add strokes to a canvas, and, in this visual medium, we can see the finished work whole and at once.

GIRL WITH A PEARL EARRING
(Lions Gate)

THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS
(Rialto)

All this does not mean that **GIRL WITH A PEARL EARRING** explicates the mystery of Johannes Vermeer's genius, but it does mean that the process of painting in the film is not ludicrous. A story has been contrived, in a novel by Tracy Chevalier adapted by Olivia Hetreed, that provides a pleasant enough raison d'être for the pearl painting. In 1665 a maid named Griet comes to work in the Vermeer household in Delft, not a strikingly beautiful girl, but one with a modest glow, servile yet with dignity. In the course of time she ends up on the canvas—wearing one of Mrs. Vermeer's pearl earrings, her ear having been pierced by Vermeer himself.

I'm not getting ahead of the story: there isn't much story to get ahead of. Vermeer's life is not one of those flamboyances that cry for film. This perhaps is another reason to admire this picture's relatively quiet adventure. Vermeer lives with his wife and mother-in-law and a few visible children. (He actually had eleven.) After Griet's arrival, a rich patron of the artist, who collects women as well as paintings, fancies her and commissions a portrait of her. This only heats Mrs. Vermeer's dislike of Griet and leads to complications for which Griet is as innocent as an attractive girl can be in such a situation. Anyway, although there are troubles along the way, we sigh with relief when the great work is finished, unharmed.

This is a first film by Peter Webber, an English director whose previous work was in television (and included programs about Schubert and Wagner). Webber has the sense to keep the story tight, domestic—no rumblings about a peak in the world history of art. There is little excitement in the film, yet neatness, discretion, intelligence mark every moment. Webber's cast is perfect. Scarlett Johansson, lately seen in *Lost in Translation*, discloses a great deal more than she got the chance to show in that film. With ease and understanding, she realizes the qualities that spark the painter's interest. He is played by Colin Firth, an actor who keeps holding us because he keeps turning his talent like a prism, displaying different facets of credibility. He was recently a reluctant romantic in *Love Actually*, somewhat comic; here he is an artist who takes himself just seriously enough—no mad-genius antics. The acting that will probably be least appreciated, as is generally the case with unsympathetic characters, is Essie Davis's reluctantly sullen performance of Vermeer's wife.

As we would expect in a film about a painter, a key person was the cinematographer. Eduardo Serra, Portuguese, has had a career too long to detail. I mention only that in 2000 he photographed a masterwork, *The Widow of Saint-Pierre*, which was as much blessed by Serra's eye and lighting as is this new film. The most enchanting point about his work here is that he hasn't put Vermeer's painting into the film; he has put the film into Vermeer. Every room, every street, every corner has the master's lighting, his arrangement of objects. Some years ago I spent just one day in Delft, and I felt that I was walking through the Vermeer *View of Delft* that Proust adored. Serra's work gives us the same embrace.

Gillo Pontecorvo's **THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS**, made in 1965, has been re-issued in fresh prints with new and more accurate subtitles. One reason given for its re-release is its topicality—the insurrections against the French rulers of the city are said to be specially resonant today. This view of topicality is odd because the film enlists our sympathy for the guerrillas—"terrorists" is the current term. The press reports that people in various government agencies have been shown the film as an instructive device. This is curious, considering that the film ends with the insurgents' victory.

Whatever the news-linked reasons for its revival, Pontecorvo's film is wonderfully worth seeing, or re-seeing, for its own sake. With the help of Algerians who had been in the struggle in the 1950s, he transforms the resistance to the French into an electric storm. The patriots scurry through the twisted streets like secret firebrands, and, while all this is happening, Pontecorvo keeps the city itself vibrant and alive.

Visually, this black-and-white film is so insistent and immediate that we have to keep reminding ourselves that it is not a documentary. (It is still denied that there are any newsreel clips in the picture.) It begins with the aftermath of a torture session, in which French soldiers have been interrogating a prisoner. The aftermath is almost as ghastly as the tor-

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ture must have been. Retrospectively, this first scene becomes all the more terrible because later on we do see some of the torture.

Yet Pontecorvo has made a point of putting the French view calmly and clearly. His sympathy for the Algerian patriots never falters, but the French colonel, of the paratroopers who are brought in to settle things, is a quiet and rational man who understands his enemy's motives and methods and who considers them a professional problem to be solved.

For us, forty years afterward, there is a different problem in seeing this film. The French left Algeria in 1962, and since then the Algerians have done horrendous slaughtering of one another. It is not news that when underdogs become top dogs, they often remain dogs. But subsequent events in Algeria throw a very grim shade on the struggles of the 1950s, so movingly portrayed here.

One other odd point. Jean Martin, who plays the urbane colonel (and is the one professional actor in the cast), had ten years earlier played in two Samuel Beckett premieres in Paris. Martin was the first Lucky in *Waiting for Godot* and the first Clov in *Endgame*. This contrast is merely the chance of an actor's career; still it is wry to think that Martin had traveled from Beckett into this film, from a poet's apprehension of human mystery into this harsh realization of some of that mystery's depths. ■

Larry McMurtry
Romance West

THREE WESTERN NARRATIVES
By Washington Irving
(Library of America, 998 pp., $40)

WASHINGTON IRVING'S family were Manhattan merchants, importers mainly of hardware. Young Washington read law but was unable to develop much enthusiasm either for law or hardware. His taste ran to literature. After working on a couple of newspapers, he collaborated with his older brother William and a friend named James Paulding on a semi-monthly called *Salmagundi*, a miscellany containing a little of this and a little of that, mostly humorous, or so they hoped. And then, in 1809, he scored a huge success with "Diedrich Knickerbocker"'s *A History of New York*, an engaging parody.

This did not prevent the family business from running onto the financial rocks, in part because of confusion regarding the import rules after the War of 1812. Washington's ailing brother Peter was sent to Liverpool to take over that branch of the increasingly imperiled company. In 1815 Irving followed, ostensibly to lend his brother a hand, which, occasionally, he did, while traveling, visiting, and getting on with his own literary career. Both the brother and the business got sicker, the latter finally terminated by a bankruptcy pleading in 1818. The next year Irving published *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent*, re-printed many times and well into the twentieth century, but mostly as an illustrated children's book. *The Sketch Book* treats lightly of England and English ways while managing a kind of Hudson River Valley tone—there are moments that remind one of Charles Lamb and other moments that anticipate Thackeray in his comic mode.

From this point on, law and hardware were safely behind Irving. In England he met Coleridge and lots of other writers, but was most excited by a visit to Walter Scott at Abbotsford, a writer who, in my opinion, had no small influence on his own style. Irving slipped through Germany and then paid an extensive visit to Spain, about which he wrote several books and to which President Tyler returned him as minister in 1842.

He was absent from America for seventeen years, returning to the now unfamiliar New York docks in 1832. There is some revisiting of old haunts, but by September—rather surprisingly—he turns up west of St. Louis, traveling in the company of Henry Ellsworth, commissioner of Indian Affairs. Ellsworth had urgent business at Fort Gibson, on the Arkansas River. Owing to the Indian Removal Act of 1830 the members of the Five Civilized Tribes who had not been removed already were pushed westward along the fully operational Trail of Tears. The task facing those in command of the Indian Territory forts, such as Fort Gibson, was to prevent the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes from being massacred by the uncivilized tribes—Osage, Pawnee, Comanche, and Kiowa, mostly—who did not welcome these farmers from Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, and so on into the eastern part of their hunting lands.

Washington Irving, meanwhile, was essentially a squire on an extended picnic, with a party of hunters and rangers who hoped to kill a few buffalo while not being scalped by the competent Pawnee. The only reference I can find to the Trail of Tears in *A Tour on the Prairies* (1835), the book that he wrote about his trip, is a reference to Indians "migrating" from east of the Mississippi to the west, and that sentence is by way of explaining what Commissioner Ellsworth is doing in the west. "Migrating" is an odd word to choose for what was even then recognized by many to be a national tragedy: four thousand out of an initial thirteen thousand Cherokees dead along the trail, to mention only Cherokees.

Irving manages to see mostly Creeks, whose looks and behavior he much approves. And then he merrily goes off hunting; but he does have fine powers of observation and in many places he registers his surprise when the West turns out to be less simple than is supposed. Here he is in hot pursuit of that near-mythical Western beast, a buffalo:

> A gallop across the prairies in pursuit of game is by no means so smooth a career as those may imagine, who have only the idea of an open level plain. It is true the prairies of the hunting grounds are not so much entangled with flowering plants and long herbage as the lower prairies, and are principally covered with short buffalo grass; but they are diversified by hill and dale, and where most level are apt to be cut up by deep rifts and ravines, made by torrents after rains, and which, yawning from an even surface, are almost like pitfalls in the way of the hunter, checking him suddenly, when in full career,

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> or subjecting him to the risk of limb and life. The plains, too, are beset by burrowing holes of small animals, in which the horse is apt to sink to the fet lock, and throw both himself and his rider. The late rain had covered some parts of the prairie, where the ground was hard, with a thin sheet of water, through which the horse had to splash his way. In other parts there were innumerable shallow hollows, eight or ten feet in diameter, made by buffalos, who wallow in sand and mud like swine. These being filled with water shown like mirrors, so that the horse was continually leaping over them or springing to one side....

In this case the buffalo escapes, leaving Irving to reflect on another unhappy aspect of prairie life:

> To one unaccustomed to it there is something inexpressibly lonely in the solitude of a prairie ... here we have an immense extent of landscape without a sign of human existence. We have the consciousness of being far, far beyond the bounds of human habitation; we feel as if moving in the midst of a desert world. As my horse lagged slowly back over the scenes of our late scamper, and the delirium of the chase had passed away, I was peculiarly sensible to these circumstances. The silence of the waste was now and then broken by the cry of a distant flock of pelican, stalking like specters about a shallow pool....

Then, finally, Irving brings down a buffalo, but the beast is slow in dying, leaving Irving to reflect unhappily upon the business he is about.

> I am nothing of a sportsman: I had been prompted to this unwonted exploit by the magnitude of the game and the excitement of an adventurous chase. Now that the excitement was over I could not but look with commiseration upon the poor animal that lay struggling and bleeding at my feet. His very size and importance, which had before inspired me with eagerness, now increased my compunction. It seemed as if I had inflicted pain in proportion to the bulk of my victim, and as if there were a hundred fold greater waste of life than there would have been in the destruction of an animal of inferior size.

Irving has just managed to put the buffalo out of its misery when one of his companions shows up and, untroubled by such sentiments, immediately whacks out the buffalo's tongue, which he gives to Irving as a trophy.

These are all deft observations. There is also a hilarious episode, too long to quote, in which the whole camp becomes convinced that they are about to be attacked by three hundred Pawnees, when in fact there are no Pawnees, just a couple of their own hunters returning from a scout. It is all vivid firsthand reporting, but it is also as shallow as one of those little prairie water sheets that the horses have to splash through. For the deeper texts, the books with some sense of the half-century of conflict that was about to scar the prairies, we have to wait for the 1840s, and such works as Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* or Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*. Washington Irving, the squire from New York State, went west, but not for very long, and he looked, or at least he glanced, but not very hard.

IT IS AN ODD CIRCUMSTANCE THAT Washington Irving, who developed no particularly strong interest in the American West, even when he was in it, should have produced three books about it in the space of three years: *A Tour on the Prairies* appeared in 1835, *Astoria* in 1836, and *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* in 1837. Even the normal opportunities of a professional writer, a man who lives by his pen, does not quite explain *Astoria*. His neighbor John Jacob Astor persuaded Irving to do it and made his files available—Irving got a nephew to organize them so he could speed through the writing—but he paid him nothing. (Not for naught was Astor the richest man of his time; he had first arrived in America, I believe, to dispose of a cargo of flutes.)

Astoria was the name that Astor gave to the site at the mouth of the Columbia River from which he hoped to build a great fur-trading empire, draining pelts from the Pacific Northwest. But the War of 1812 came along and the British turned out to be the firstest with the mostest. Begun in 1810, Astoria was over with in almost less time than it takes to read this long and rich Library of America volume. We follow, it feels like mile by mile, the weary progress of the overland Astorians led by Wilson Price Hunt; so, too, do we crest many a wave with the oversea Astorians, who at least had a little R&R in Hawaii.

Since pretty much everything but the kitchen sink is in *Astoria*, I wish Irving had devoted a page or two to the great British-born, self-taught explorer, geographer, and trader David Thompson, who worked for both the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company. Thompson knew the Columbia River system as well as anyone; he managed to trade with the Blackfeet and live to tell about it, and, admirably, in support of family values, he insisted on traveling with Charlotte Small, his métis wife, and their sixteen children. If Astor had hired Thompson, he might have owned the West. Washington Irving himself had never been anywhere near the Pacific Northwest, and happily admits that he combed many earlier travel narratives to confirm his details. That's fine: *Astoria* is not exactly boring, but it is written at a remove and lacks the immediacy of the *Tour*.

THE THIRD AND MUCH THE MOST curious of Washington Irving's three Western books, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, is a likable oddity, about which I have a theory. Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville was born in France. His family immigrated to America; young Bonneville went to West Point, became an officer, and soldiered in the Indian Territory, Texas, and elsewhere. Around 1830 Captain Bonneville was seized by a mania that took the form of an obsession with the romance of the fur trade. Fired with visionary zeal, he got some funding from a colleague of Astor's—enough funding to enable him to set out in 1832 with one hundred ten men, meaning to make his fortune on the Green River, in present day Wyoming.

What was odd about this venture was the timing. The streams of the Western lands had by this time been heavily trapped for half a century. John Jacob Astor himself, reckoning correctly that the beaver boom was about over, got out of furs at about the time that Captain Bonneville launched himself into the wild country. When Bonneville reached the Green River he at once encountered able competitors on the order of Jim Bridger and Tom Fitzpatrick, both of whom knew the business and the West as thoroughly as anyone alive. Bonneville, however, was in a fever to trap; he just happened to be not very good at it. But

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he bumbled and bragged, and, indeed, exulted in his situation:

> He was now in the full enjoyment of his wishes; leading a hunter's life in the heart of the wilderness, with all its wild populace around him. Beside his own people, motley in character and costume: Creole, Kentuckian, Indian, half-breed, hired trapper, and free trapper.... It was, he declares, a wild and bustling scene. The hunting parties of white men and red men, continually sallying forth and returning ... the resounding strokes of the axe, the sharp report of the rifle, the whoop, the hallo....
>
> The kind and genial character of the captain had, evidently, its influence on the opposite races thus fortuitously congregated together. The most perfect harmony prevailed between them. The Indians, he says, were friendly in their dispositions, and honest to the most scrupulous degree....

Now, what sort of idealization is going on here? In fact the mountain men were frequently at one another's throats, and they harbored the deepest suspicions about Indians, most of whom they held to be thieving rascals. I think it is Spanish idealization—Cervantine in fact. Captain Bonneville, of course, failed. He was both too late and too inept, but, difficult as things were, he clung to his vision. The Indians might call him Chief Bald Head, the trappers might call his fort Fort Nonsense, but whatever the reality, the captain's vision remained pure. It remained, in other words, Quixotic, which, I suspect, is what got Washington Irving interested in the first place.

Bonneville gave up in 1835 and returned east, only to discover that he had been gone so long that the army had dropped him. He sued to be re-instated and eventually he was. Meanwhile there were the journals of his expedition to be written up. He composed them and showed his manuscript to Irving, who bought it for one thousand dollars. Working from this manuscript, which is lost, Irving wrote his book. In my view, Washington Irving was more attached to Spain and to Spanish culture than he could ever have been to the American West. To the extent that he saw the West at all, he may have seen it as what it initially was: New Spain. And here, in this genial, loveable, half-cracked, and inept old soldier, he had found nothing other than his own Quixote.

The *Tour* is a frolic that carefully avoids the tragedy that might have been addressed. *Astoria* is a careful, competent history, in which Irving does his best to paper over John Jacob Astor's most embarrassing miscalculation. And *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* is a romance of chivalry, in which harmony emerges where not much harmony was, thanks to the out-of-his-head optimism of Captain Bonneville:

> The captain now set to work with his men, to prepare a suitable entertainment for his guests. It was a time of plenty in the camp; of prime hunters' dainties; of buffalo humps, and buffalo tongues; of roasted ribs, and broiled marrowbones: all these were cooked in hunter's style; served up with a profusion known only on a plentiful hunting ground, and discussed with an appetite that would astonish the puny gourmands of the cities. But above all, and to give a bacchanalian grace to this truly masculine repast, the captain produced his mellifluous keg of home-brewed nectar, which had been so potent over the senses of the veteran of Hudson's Bay. Potations, pottle deep, again went round; never did beverage excite greater glee, or meet with more rapturous commendation. The parties were rapidly advancing to that happy state, which would have ensured ample cause for the next day's repentance; and the bees were already beginning to buzz about their ears, when a messenger came spurring to the camp with intelligence, that Wyeth's people had got entangled in one of those deep and frightful ravines, piled with immense fragments of volcanic rock, which gash the whole country about the head waters of the Blackfoot River. The revel was instantly at an end: the keg of sweet and potent home-brewed was deserted; and the guests departed with all speed, to aid in extricating their companions from the volcanic ravine.

At night? Drunk? It's heigh-ho Rosinante, if you ask me. ■

Omer Bartov

He Meant What He Said

Did Hitlerism die with Hitler?

HITLER'S SECOND BOOK: THE UNPUBLISHED SEQUEL TO *MEIN KAMPF*
By Adolf Hitler
Edited by Gerhard L. Weinberg
(Enigma Books, 293 pp., $32)

I.

ADOLF HITLER'S SO-CALLED second book was not published in his lifetime. Written, as Gerhard Weinberg convincingly speculates, in late June and early July 1928, the book's publication was postponed because *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's first massive text, was selling very badly and could hardly stand competition with another publication by the same author. Later, after Hitler was appointed chancellor and *Mein Kampf* became one of the greatest (and allegedly most unread) best-sellers of all times, the second book was apparently seen as disclosing his foreign policy plans too explicitly to allow publication. It was locked away, only to be discovered by Weinberg in 1958. Published in German three years later, the second book came out in a pirated and unreliable English edition in 1962. It is only now that the public can read this text in an authoritative translation, accompanied by extensive and updated notes by Weinberg.

Must we read another ranting book by Hitler? This book is certainly as close to the heart of darkness as a book can be. But it should have been read in its time, and it should be read now. It was an

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explicit warning to the world of what could be expected from the Führer of what was to become for twelve terrible years the Third Reich. When Hitler wrote it, no one could tell whether his plans and fantasies would ever be transformed into reality. Much of what Hitler put together in this book could already be found in *Mein Kampf*, if anyone had bothered to read it, and other ideas were expressed unambiguously in his speeches. Yet it was difficult to believe that anyone in his right mind would try to translate such rhetoric into policy. It was generally thought that in power Hitler would be constrained by the realities of diplomacy, the limits of Germany's power, the national interests of the Reich, and the military, economic, and political partners with whom he had to make policy.

Today we know that this was a fatal misunderstanding, rooted more in wishful thinking than in the kind of realism on which contemporary observers prided themselves and expected would eventually keep Hitler, too, in his place. Today we know that Hitler said precisely what he meant to say. We can also note, with the benefit of hindsight, that Hitler was neither insane, nor irrational, nor a fool. Several decades ago A. J. P. Taylor wrote that Hitler may have been mad or criminal as far as his plans and policies for world conquest and genocide were concerned, but in the conduct of his diplomacy in the 1930s he acted very much like everyone else, seizing opportunities and moving gradually toward the goals he had set himself. Reading this second book, I tend to agree. Hitler's rhetoric here is not more empty-headed than that of many of his contemporaries; his use of clichés hardly exceeds what one encountered in the newspapers; his knowledge of history, his psychological observations, his criticism of his rivals, are in many respects typical of his place and time.

But of course Hitler was about much more than this. He was also a pathological mass murderer who caused the death of millions and the destruction of Europe, and so it is important to know that he did precisely what he promised to do. For we still do not seem to have learned a simple crucial lesson that Hitler taught us more definitively than anyone else in history: some people, some regimes, some ideologies, some political programs, and, yes, some religious groups, must be taken at their word. Some people mean what they say, and say what they will do, and do what they said.

Most liberal-minded, optimistic, well-meaning people are loath to believe this. They would rather think that fanaticism is merely an "epiphenomenal" façade for politics, that opinions can be changed, that everyone can be corrected and improved. In many cases, this is true—but not in all cases, and not in the most dangerous ones. There are those who practice what they preach and are proud of it. They view those who act otherwise, who compromise and pull back from ultimate conclusions, as opportunists, as weaklings, as targets to be easily conquered and subdued by their own greater determination, hardness, and ruthlessness. When they say they will kill you, they will kill you—if you do not kill them first.

Reading Hitler's second book is useful, of course, for students of Nazism. But they will have already read it in part or in whole, and nothing that Hitler says here will come to them as much of a surprise. This is a book that should be read, rather, by contemporary journalists, political observers, and all concerned people who have the stomach to recognize evil when they confront it. For one of the most frightening aspects of Hitler's book is not that he said what he said at the time, but that much of what he said can be found today in innumerable places: on Internet sites, propaganda brochures, political speeches, protest placards, academic publications, religious sermons, you name it. As long as it does not have Hitler's name attached to it, this deranged discourse will be ignored or allowed to pass. The voices that express these opinions do not belong to a single political or ideological current, and they are much less easy to distinguish than in the 1930s. They belong to the right and the left, to the religious and the secular, to the West and the East, to the rabble and the leaders, to terrorists and intellectuals, students and peasants, pacifists and militants, expansionists and anti-globalization activists. The diplomacy advocated by Hitler is no longer relevant, but his reason for it, his legitimization of his "worldview," is alive and kicking, and it may still kick us.

II.

HITLER NEVER HAD A PARTICULARLY complicated ideology. He painted a clear picture of the world, distinguishing between the bad and the good, the sinful and the righteous, the guilty and the innocent, the dirty and the clean, the inferior and the superior. He articulated clear goals, as follows. The Aryan race needs domestic unity and freedom from polluting racial elements, and so it must expand into an undefined and likely limitless "living space" in the East. Germany's most important short-term enemy is France, for historical reasons and because it has become "negroized." Germany's most likely allies are Italy and Britain, with whom the Reich should have no quarrel since they also seek to expand in different directions. The greatest long-term enemy is the United States, not least because it is made up of healthy Aryan stock that has turned its back on the fatherland. The Slav states and the nations to Germany's east are to be taken over. The Slavs, and especially the Poles and Russians, are not worthy of ruling themselves, for whatever is great and worthy in the East was created by German colonizers and rulers. The greatest danger to the world are the Jews, who have taken control of the Soviet Union and are behind all the Marxist parties in Europe, and at the same time are the bosses and the manipulators of international capitalism. The Jews rule the world through a global conspiracy, and it is Germany's duty to destroy them before they subjugate humanity forever.

Hitler made no bones about the direct link between his "analysis" of world history and his plans for Germany's policies. For him, as he wrote,

> politics is not just the struggle of a people for its survival as such; rather, for us humans it is the art of the implementation of this struggle.... Politics is always the leader of the struggle for survival—its organizer—and regardless of how it is formally designated, its effectiveness will determine the life or death of a people.... The two concepts of a peace policy or a war policy thus immediately become meaningless. Because the stake that is struggled for through politics is always life....

Promoting economic autarky and opposing the ills of a global capitalistic economy, Hitler was similarly swift in identifying the agents of globalization whose goal it was to "kill the others through peaceful industry," by way of depriving people of the necessary Lebensraum that would ensure their healthy development. The urban centers created by the global industrial economy were "hot-

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beds of blood-mixing and bastardization, usually ensuring the degeneration of the race and resulting in that purulent herd in which the maggots of the international Jewish community flourish and cause the ultimate decay of the people." For Hitler, the "Jew" was directly identified with anything international, and internationalism was directly associated with the degeneration of the race, with immorality and corruption. Once a people loses its "genetically conditioned cultural expression of the life of its own soul," he wrote, it will "descend into the confusion of international perceptions and the cultural chaos that springs from them. Then the Jew can move in, and not rest until he has completely uprooted and thereby corrupted such a people."

WHILE HE STRENUOUSLY opposed "internationalism" as a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world and to corrupt the nobler races, Hitler saw no limits to his own aspirations for expansion. As he noted, "Wherever our success ends, that will always be the starting point of a new battle." And as Hitler never tired of emphasizing, he was opposed to a policy of returning to the borders of 1914—that is, of revising the Versailles agreement in which the Reich had been "robbed" of its territories. That restitution would hardly suffice. Hitler argues that

> the foreign policy of the bourgeois world is in truth always only focused on borders, whereas the National Socialist movement, in contrast, will pursue a policy focused on space. The German bourgeoisie will, with its boldest plans, perhaps attain unification of the German nation, but in reality it usually ends in bungling border adjustments. The National Socialist movement ... knows no Germanization ... but only the expansion of our own people.... The national conception will not be determined by previous patriotic notions of state, but rather by ethnic and racial conceptions....
>
> The German borders of 1914 ... represented something just as unfinished as peoples' borders always are. The division of territory on the earth is always the momentary result of a struggle and an evolution that is in no way finished, but that naturally continues to progress.

So much for the idea of appeasement, of letting Hitler have what he had already declared would never suffice. The racial state that Hitler outlined had certain duties. It could "under absolutely no circumstances annex Poles." It would "have to decide either to isolate these alien racial elements in order to prevent the repeated contamination of one's own people, or it would have to immediately remove them entirely, transferring the land and territory that thus became free to members of one's own ethnic community." Here again we hear Hitler saying quite clearly that he would undertake the kind of demographic re-structuring of Eastern Europe that was indeed managed by Heinrich Himmler after 1939. And whatever might have been the contributions of various German technocrats in the 1930s to molding this policy, as suggested by some historians, Hitler unequivocally and ruthlessly expressed it five years before he became chancellor.

Moreover, Hitler made it clear that in the distant future "the only state that would be able to stand up to North America will be the state that has understood how ... to raise the racial value of its people.... It is, again, the duty of the National Socialist movement to strengthen and prepare our own fatherland to the greatest degree possible for this task." If Hitler did not end up trying to conquer the United States, we now know that he made plans for producing the kinds of aircraft and ships that would have facilitated such aggressive action.

Ultimately, as Hitler saw it, there could have been only one worthwhile goal in World War I, and the same goal would eventually have to guide the conduct of any future war: the conquest of "living space." The "only area in Europe that could be considered for such a territorial policy was Russia." This was also the only kind of war aim that would motivate Germans and justify the sacrifices entailed in accomplishing it:

> The only war aim that would have been worthy of these enormous casualties [in World War I] would have been to promise the German troops that so many hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of land would be allotted to the frontline soldiers as property or made available for colonization by Germans.

This is precisely what Hitler did upon the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.

The instrument of such a war would be a new German army, and in his second book Hitler outlines how he would use the Weimar Republic's one hundred thousand–man Reichswehr as the framework for the creation of a massive new military machine based on universal conscription. By 1935 Hitler was already well on his way to accomplishing this task, having both purged the SA, which hoped to become an alternative military organization, and declared universal conscription in total defiance of the Versailles Treaty.

BUT GERMANY'S MOST PERNICIOUS enemies were the Jews and those who had collaborated with them in stabbing the army in the back and bringing about the collapse of the German Empire in November 1918. "No enemy," declared Hitler, "had reviled the German army like the representatives of the November knavery defiled it." Hence, he warned,

> Anyone who today wants to act in the name of German honor must first announce the most relentless fight against the intolerable defilers of German honor ... the representatives of the November crime. That collection [of] Marxist, democratic-pacifist, and Centrist traitors that pushed our people into its current state of powerlessness.... I admit most frankly that I could reconcile myself with every one of those old enemies, but that my hate for the traitors in our own ranks is unforgiving and will remain.

These traitors not only brought the old Reich crashing down, they were now plotting to establish a "global economy" and a pan-European movement whose consequences would be "a Jewish-instigated systematic bastardization with lower-quality human material." The reason was obvious:

> The Jew particularly welcomes such a concept; in its consistent observance it leads to racial chaos and confusion, to a bastardization and niggerization of civilized humanity, and finally to such a deterioration in its racial value that the Hebrew who keeps himself free from it can gradually rise to be masters [sic] of the world.

Most dangerously, the Jews had taken over Russia. Hitler opposed any

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"German-Russian understanding ... as long as a government that is preoccupied with the sole effort to transmit the Bolshevist poison to Germany rules in Russia." For "it goes without saying that if such an alliance were to materialize today, its results would be the complete dominance of Judaism in Germany, just as in Russia." Interestingly, while the Jews dominated Russia, they were in Hitler's view not true communists but greedy capitalists. Hence "it is precisely the Jewish press organs of the most noted stock market interests that advocate a German-Russian alliance in Germany. Do people really believe that" these Jewish papers "speak more or less openly for Bolshevist Russia because it is an anticapitalist state?" No, Hitler insisted, this was in fact nothing but a "Jewish-capitalist Bolshevik Russia"—Jewish-controlled capitalism posing as Russian communism.

HITLER DID NOT SHARE THE hope that he attributed to nationalist German circles that, if Russia were to be liberated from the Jews and reverted to "nationalist, anticapitalist communism," it might be a good coalition partner for Germany. For Hitler, Germans and Russians constituted "two ethnic souls that have very little in common." The Russian people could never rule themselves, but were rather first under the control of superior "Nordic-German elements" and, following the Revolution, under the Jews who successfully "exterminated the previous foreign upper class ... with the help of the Slavic racial instinct." But as Hitler saw it, this Jewish takeover would eventually serve Germany's objectives, since "the overall tendency of Judaism, which is ultimately only destructive," would in time lead to "the destruction of Jewry." This in turn would facilitate the realization of "the goal of German foreign policy in the one and only place possible: space in the East."

After explaining why the question of the German minority in South Tyrol, which came under Italian rule after World War I, was a minor issue compared with the need to "gain further space and feeding of our people" in the East, Hitler ended his second book with the same pronouncements that concluded the political testament that he dictated before his suicide seventeen years later. For Hitler's entire political career was guided by a single central obsession with "the Jew." Blaming those who criticized his policies toward Italy for ignoring the domestic "syphilitization by Jews and Negroes" of the Fatherland, and for persecuting those Germans who "resist the de-Germanization, niggerization, and Judaization of our people," Hitler finally explained what had always been at the root of all evil and misfortune in the world.

Repeating much of the anti-Semitic verbiage of the previous decades, but giving it a much more threatening tone thanks to his position as a political leader on the verge of becoming a major figure on the world scene, Hitler summarized his views on the Jews in the following manner. First, this was "a people with certain essential particularities that distinguish it from all other peoples living on earth." Second, while Judaism was not a religion but "a real state ... the essence of the Jewish people lacks the productive forces to build and sustain a territorial state." Third, because of this inability, "the existence of the Jew himself ... becomes a parasitic existence within the life of other peoples." Fourth, the "ultimate goal of the Jewish struggle for survival is the enslavement of productively active peoples."

This goal is sought by fighting "for equality and then for superiority" in domestic policies, whereas in foreign policy the Jews will "hurl [other peoples] into wars with one another, and thus gradually—with the help of the power of money and propaganda—become their masters." Ultimately, the Jew seeks "the denationalization and chaotic bastardization of the other peoples, the lowering of the racial level of the highest, and domination over this racial mush through the eradication of these peoples' intelligentsias and their replacement with the members of his own race." Tragically, "Jewish domination always ends with the decline of all culture and ultimately the insanity of the Jew himself. Because he is a parasite on the peoples, and his victory means his own end just as much as the death of his victim." The allies of the Jew are "Freemasonry ... the press ... [and] Marxism." Having accomplished the "economic conquest of Europe," the Jew "begins with securing it politically ... in the form of revolutions" and by "systematically agitating for world war." The victims of Jewish "inhuman torture and barbarity" in Russia "totaled twenty-eight million dead," and meanwhile the Jew "tore away all the ties of orderliness, morality, custom ... and proclaimed ... universal licentiousness." But finally, declares Hitler, an end will be put to all this, for "the National Socialist movement ... has taken up the fight against this execrable crime against humanity."

It is truly astonishing to see how every sin that Hitler ascribed to "the Jew" became part of his own policies as he himself outlined them in his second book and later implemented them: the destruction of entire nations by the elimination of their elites, their mass deportation, and in the case of the Jews, their outright genocide. And it is just as mind-boggling to note that the endless depravity attributed by Hitler to the Jews became the reality of German conduct under his rule, which deprived the Reich of every remnant of moral constraint and finally drove it into an insane storm of self-destruction. What Hitler said would be done to Germany, he did unto others; and he and his people became victims of the nemesis that he prophesied for his enemies. When Hitler wrote his second book, he was staring into a mirror.

III.

BUT THOSE WHO HAVE FOLlowed the current wave of anti-Semitism emanating from the most disparate sources in the last few years may sense that they, too, are staring into a mirror, a distorted mirror of a resurrected past, a mutilated, transplanted, transformed, contorted, monstrous specter whose allegedly exhausted powers seem to be increasing day by day.

Hitler is dead, as Leon Wieseltier rightly proclaimed in these pages. What alarmed Wieseltier was the frequent predilection to view every threat as the ultimate threat, every anti-Semitic harangue as the gateway to another Final Solution. Clearly we are not facing the danger of a second Auschwitz. The hysterics need to remember that Hitler and the Third Reich are history. Germany apologized and paid generous restitution. The Nazis were tried, or they hid, or they metamorphosed into good democrats. The state of Israel was established. The Jews have never been more prosperous and more successful and more safe than they are in the United States. (The same could even be said about the nervous Jews of Western Europe.) The last remnants of communist anti-Semitism vanished with the fall of that "evil empire." Jews in our day have reasons to feel

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much more secure than their ancestors.

But all is not well, not by a long shot. Criticism of Israeli policies against the Palestinians has long been attached to anti-Americanism, and the United States was said already by the Nazis in World War II to be dominated by the Jews. And criticism of American imperialism is often associated with its support for Israel, allegedly a colonial outpost populated by Jews in the heart of Arab and Islamic civilization. Of course, one should never confuse the legitimate criticism of Israeli policies with what all reasonable people agree is the despicable ideology of anti-Semitism. The policies of the current Israeli government in the territories are indeed contrary to the strategic and moral interests of the Jewish state. So there is every reason in the world to reject attempts to justify objectionable Israeli policies by reference to the Holocaust.

But this does not mean that we should refuse to see the writing on the wall when anti-Israeli sentiments are transformed into blatant and virulent anti-Semitism. This was precisely the argument made in the report "Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union," as submitted by the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism in Berlin to the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, which had originally commissioned it. The monitoring center tried to suppress its own report, because it gave a measure of anti-Semitic violence by Muslims in Europe, and because its definition of anti-Semitism included those who call for the destruction of Israel. And these grim truths were politically incorrect. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is stupid and destructive, and it should be ended through the creation of a Palestinian state, but those who preach the destruction of the Jewish state should not be allowed to hide behind Sharon's unfortunate policies. It is one thing to support the cause of Palestinian nationhood, and quite another to deny the Jews the right to live in their own state.

WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING today is a broad front of opinion, spanning the entire spectrum of the political and religious scene, whose criticism of American and Israeli policies, and whose fears and phobias about present conditions, utopian dreams of a better future, and nostalgic fantasies of a mythical past, all converge in a bizarre and increasingly frightening way on a single figure, a single cause: "the Jew." I have long believed that it is pointless, and dishonorable, to debate anti-Semites. Such an exchange of "ideas" only confers legitimacy upon them. But there are times when absurdities become political facts and cannot be ignored. They must, instead, be directly challenged—not by explaining their violent ideas and feelings away, but by putting limits to them through all available means, political, judicial, and, if necessary, by the use of legitimate force. For these are people who mean what they say. If you do not destroy them, they will destroy you. There are precedents for this.

Consider again what Hitler wrote in 1928. Yes, it is insane; but take out the word "race" and replace it, say, with "Zionism" or "American imperialism," and replace the references to the Soviet Union with references to the United States, and suddenly the discourse is not only crazy but also quite common. The "soft core" of this poisonous rhetoric is to be found among some sectors of European and American intellectuals and academics. It tends to identify Israelis as culprits, and Jews as potential Israelis. It is obsessed with the influence of Jews on culture, politics, and economics around the world. The partially successful boycott of Israeli academics in recent years is a case in point, not least because it tends to affect precisely those who number among the most determined and articulate opponents of the current Israeli government's policies. The divestment campaign, calling on American and European universities to desist from any investments in Israel, is another example; this campaign provides cover, and even immunity, for all the regimes around the world that have never recognized academic freedom. The sympathetic understanding expressed in academic settings, and in liberal and left-wing publications, for suicide bombers who blow up innocent civilians in Israel creates a climate of tolerance for murder that is cleverly couched in the righteous language of liberation and justice.

SOME ALLEGATIONS OF AN APPARENT takeover by Jews, or by Jewish themes, of this or that cultural sphere seem to have nothing to do with Israel. In October 2001, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* published an article by Mark Anderson, a professor of Germanic languages at Columbia University. Anderson expressed fears about "the way in which American scholars have distorted the study of German culture" by reducing "the canon of German literature to a tiny handful of teachable authors who often have a Jewish background." This "excessive focus on German-Jewish authors," he argued, "relied on the subtext of Jewish suffering." This "has undermined intellectual freedom in American universities" and is "testimony to an ongoing intellectual paralysis that could and should be relieved."

It is not clear from Anderson's argument who is to blame, apart from an ill-defined "pressure from American culture to focus on minority issues, as well as our fascination with Hitler and the Holocaust." It is also somewhat ironic that Anderson himself edited a volume called *Hitler's Exiles: Personal Stories of the Flight from Nazi Germany to America*, which testifies to his own fascination with this topic, if not to his recognition of its importance. But one cannot help but detect here a clear connection between the alleged over-emphasis on Jewish authors and Jewish themes "identified" by Anderson and its distorting effects both on the study of German literature and on American intellectual freedom. Somehow the focus on Jewish victims seems to have that effect.

SOMETIMES THIS SORT OF INTELlectual-academic-journalistic obsession with Jews becomes intimately linked with anti-Americanism. Several best-selling books published in France and Germany by academics, politicians, and journalists have "confirmed" the already widespread belief (held by 19 percent of the German population according to a recent poll, and apparently by a majority in many Arab and Islamic countries) that the September 11 attacks on the United States were orchestrated by the CIA and the Mossad, and that the latter warned the Jews working in the World Trade Center not to come to work that day. Indeed, the United States, attacked by Europeans for its support of Israel, has been repeatedly depicted as controlled by the Jews, whose lobbies, financial and electoral levers of power, and key figures in the White House and Pentagon, are manipulating both the American public and world politics.

At the same time Israel has been portrayed as the perpetrator of Nazi-like crimes even as these very same portrayals carry echoes of the Nazi representa-

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tion of Jews. Thus the European media, especially its more highbrow representatives, were as keen to portray the Israeli operation in Jenin last year as a war crime and a massacre as they were reluctant to admit that they had been fooled by Palestinian propaganda and in turn misinformed their publics about the nature of the operation, greatly inflating the number of Palestinian civilians killed in order to justify its description as a massacre. The Israeli prime minister was depicted in a cartoon published in *The Independent* in London in the shape of a bloody ogre devouring Palestinian children, his features eerily reminiscent of those popularized by *Der Stürmer*.

Anyone who has access (that is, anyone on the Internet) to racist, anti-Semitic, and neo-Nazi publications in the United States and elsewhere will find almost precisely the same opinions and depictions. These hateful representations are normally not much remarked upon. But there are some important exceptions. Most striking was the speech made by Martin Hohmann, a parliamentary representative of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in the German Bundestag, to an audience of one hundred thirty people, on October 3, 2003. Hohmann argued that one had no right to speak of the Germans as a "people of perpetrators" (*Tätervolk*) because the Jews—presumably those making that argument—were themselves a "people of perpetrators," considering their high representation among the murderous Bolsheviks. This was the first time since the end of Nazism that a member of the Bundestag made an anti-Semitic argument based on the very logic of Hitler's rationalization for war against the Soviet Union. And an elite Bundeswehr general expressed agreement with Hohmann's speech. Under much public pressure, Hohmann was eventually ejected from the parliamentary fraction of the CDU—but 20 percent of his colleagues opposed his removal. And Hohmann knew, like so many fascists before him who said what he said, what many others were thinking. In a poll recently conducted by the University of Bielefeld, it was found that 70 percent of Germans resent being blamed for the Holocaust, and 25 percent believe that the Jews are trying to make political capital out of their own genocide (and another 30 percent say that there is a measure of truth in this assertion), and three-quarters believe that there are too many foreigners in Germany.

MUCH MORE PUBLICITY HAS been given to anti-Israeli protests on American campuses, and these have demonstrated a troubling trend. A group calling itself "New Jersey Solidarity: Activists for the Destruction of Israel" called for an "anti-Israel hate-fest" to be held on the campus of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, in October 2003. The group's website declares itself "opposed to the existence of the apartheid colonial settler state of Israel, as it is based on the racist ideology of Zionism and is an expression of colonialism and imperialism."

Richard McCormick, the president of Rutgers University and a former member of its history department, where I also taught during the 1990s, issued an open letter on the planned meeting. He stated that he found "abhorrent some elements of NJ Solidarity's mission." But he went on to say that "intrinsic to Rutgers' own mission is the free exchange of ideas and discourse on a variety of issues, including those that are controversial. This university must remain a model of debate, dialogue and education ... we encourage our students to express their beliefs and analyze the difficult issues of the day." So some may think that destroying Israel is legitimate and some may think otherwise. Some may think that Israel is an apartheid colonial settler state based on a racist ideology, and some may have a different opinion. There are two sides to the question. Through such a "free exchange of ideas" we will all prosper intellectually. This brings to mind Hannah Arendt's observation, when she visited Germany in 1950, for the first time since she fled the Nazis, that the Germans viewed the extermination of the Jews as a matter of opinion: some said it happened, some said it had not happened. Who could tell? The average German, she wrote, considered this "nihilistic relativism" about the facts as an essential expression of democracy.

Throughout campuses in the United States, students associated with Arab and Islamic organizations, Christian groups, and the left carried flags, banners, and posters that were mostly focused on one theme: the equation between Zionism, or Israel, and Nazism. Banners portrayed a swastika joined by an equal sign to a Star of David and an Israeli flag featuring a swastika instead of a Star of David. Placards issued the call to "End the Holocaust," and proclaimed that "Zionism = racism = ethnic cleansing," and that "Zionism is Ethnic Cleansing," and that "Sharon = Hitler." A particularly ingenious sign asserted: "1943: Warsaw 2002: Jenin." While some summarized their views with the slogan "Zionazis," others warned, "First Jesus Now Arafat."

What makes this virulent anti-Semitism respectable is that it presents itself as anti-Nazism. To accomplish this sinister exculpatory purpose it needs only to declare that Zionism equals Nazism, just as the old canard of a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world is legitimized by its association with American imperialism, capitalism, and globalization. That the vocabulary of this rhetoric is taken directly (whether consciously or not) from Nazi texts is so clear that one wonders why there is such a reluctance to recognize it. In part this is owed to ignorance, which is as rampant today in journalism and political commentary as it always was. In part this is owed to the fact that those who would most readily identify the provenance of these words and ideas are largely liberals, some of whom also happen to be Jewish, and thus are likely to be most harmed, both personally and ideologically, by making this identification. By exposing the anti-Semitic underbelly of this phenomenon, they would expose themselves as Jews and friends of Jews, and would open themselves to the argument that precisely their opposition to this phenomenon is the best proof of Jewish domination in the world.

IV.

WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, IS precisely what Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia said following the Western protests against his warmly received pronouncement to the Organization of the Islamic Conference in October that the Jews control the world: "The reaction of the world shows that they [the Jews] control the world." Mahathir's speech was genuinely astonishing. This was the first time since World War II that a major head of state made a speech—to no fewer than fifty-seven other heads of state and well over two thousand journalists—whose fundamental argument was that the Jews are to blame for all the ills that have beset Islamic civilization. And not a single person left the room in protest.

For Paul Krugman, writing in *The New York Times* on October 21, Mahathir's

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anti-Semitic remarks were both "inexcusable" and "calculated," made by a "cagey politician, who is neither ignorant nor foolish." Krugman did not elaborate on why such remarks are "inexcusable." Instead he preferred to see them as reflecting "how badly things are going for U.S. foreign policy." Mahathir may be "guilty of serious abuses of power," but he is also, said Krugman, "as forward-looking a Muslim leader as we're likely to find." Hence he should be encouraged, not denounced. His anti-Semitism is merely "part of Mr. Mahathir's domestic balancing act."

Progressive modernizer that he is, in other words, Mahathir cannot possibly be stupid enough to believe what he spouts, and because he does not believe it, and uses it merely as a tool for the good cause of modernizing Malaysia and combating the Muslim clerics who oppose the acquisition of knowledge, his anti-Semitism is in some way understandable. This is reminiscent of what many said about Hitler's anti-Semitism in the 1930s: it was inexcusable but calculated, and thus it was ultimately both excusable and in the service of a good cause, the modernization of Germany and its reintegration into the community of nations.

For Krugman, Mahathir's "hateful words" serve only to "cover his domestic flank." They do not tell you anything about his own thinking, but they tell you "more accurately than any poll, just how strong the rising tide of anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism among Muslims in Southeast Asia has become." And what is the cause of this tide? It is America's "war in Iraq and its unconditional support for Ariel Sharon." Just as Mahathir is not anti-Semitic, but merely a good reader of his people's collective mind, so, too, his people are not anti-Semitic, but merely outraged by the same things that outrage Krugman: Ariel Sharon and George W. Bush.

The Malaysian prime minister's speech was both more offensive and more interesting than most commentators (including Krugman) have observed. In many ways it was a restatement of the urge to modernize, and the will to power, and the fantasies of destruction, that characterized fascism. Mahathir proposes to "disprove the perception of Islam as a religion of backwardness and terror." He wants to "restore the honor of Islam and of the Muslims" and "to free their brothers and sisters from the oppression and humiliation from which they suffer today." What sort of action does Mahathir propose? In part, as Krugman pointed out, he was indeed critical of the intellectual and political decline of Islam. He thus insisted that, although according to Islam "we are enjoined ... to acquire knowledge," it was due to "intellectual regression" that "the great Muslim civilization began to falter and wither," causing it to miss entirely the Industrial Revolution. Yet other influences from the West actually subverted Islam, among which he counts "the Western democratic system" that "divided us." Moreover, it was thanks to this democratically induced division that the Europeans "could excise Muslim land to create the state of Israel to solve their Jewish problem." Thus the West both denied the Muslims the means to defend themselves through modern technology and industry and divided them by the introduction of democracy, all with the goal of solving a European "Jewish problem" at the expense of Islamic lands.

This "Jewish problem" is not at all peripheral to Mahathir's argument, a sort of tithe to the masses and the clerics so as to push his program of modernization. It is central to his thinking. Modernization is justified, in his account, by the necessity of destroying the entity that has penetrated the Muslim world and polluted its soul. For, as he says, "we are all oppressed. We are all being humiliated." And thus the numerical and economic strength of Muslims must be complemented by military prowess: "We are now 1.3 billion strong. We have the biggest oil reserve in the world. We have great wealth.... We control 57 out of 180 countries in world. Our votes can make or break international organizations.... [But] we need guns and rockets, bombs and warplanes, tanks and warships for our defense." Hitler used to mock those who were obsessed with obscure Germanic traditions, who were filled with rage at the defeat of 1918 and dreamed up all sorts of harebrained conspiracies in marginal militant fraternities. He wanted to build a powerful modern military. He was, in this way, a modernizer.

Mahathir, for his part, notes that

> today we, the whole Muslim ummah are treated with contempt and dishonor.... Our only reaction is to become more and more angry. Angry people cannot think properly. And so we find people reacting irrationally. They launch their own attacks, killing just about anybody ... to vent their anger and frustration.... But the attacks solve nothing. The Muslims simply get more oppressed.... The Muslims will forever be oppressed and dominated by the Europeans and the Jews.... Is there no other way than to ask our young people to blow themselves up and kill people and invite the massacre of more of our own people?

This is the voice of the rational politician. This is not an Arab preaching an endless cycle of revenge, but an Asian Muslim calling for patience and calcula-

High-Ranking Fugitive

After *Most Wanted* was revised
as *Least Likely*
To Be Found, I went
to a film, and found myself
more captivated by the exit signs,
each letter a burning keyhole
beside the undulating screen
(Like watching the andirons
instead of the flames). How often
while hearing confession, addressing the board,
or in the froth of spurring
my deflated troops, had I imagined
a swamp peppered with wild iris, blue
as January stars? No one was less
entitled, more deserving.
But these are the days of the wide sill,
of sitting at the window. The days
of guilt are gone, when all
the running started, when every death
seemed stacked upon the next,
and I envied the neighbor's
daughter, who, recently severed
from her minions of threadbare
velvet animals, had for all
the block to see, taped FOR SALE
inside her frosted bedroom window.
I simply keep my balance beside
the cooling bed at sunrise
and leave the sheets the way they are.

RALPH SNEEDEN

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tion. Suicide bombers will never win the war. There must be another way. After all, "1.3 billion Muslims cannot be defeated by a few million Jews." Hence we need "to think, to assess our weaknesses and our strength, to plan, to strategize and then to counter attack.... [To] devise a plan, a strategy that can win us final victory.... It is winning the struggle that is important, not angry retaliation, not revenge." Is this merely a subtle way of calling on Muslims to focus on their own societies rather than waste their energies on the struggle with Israel? Perhaps. But it is just as possible that Mahathir, like so many before him, means what he says. And Mahathir paints the Jewish enemy in colors taken directly from Hitler's diabolical palette:

> The enemy will probably welcome these proposals and we will conclude that the promoters are working for the enemy. But think. We are up against a people who think. They survived 2000 years of pogroms not by hitting back, but by thinking. They invented and successfully promoted Socialism, Communism, human rights and democracy so that persecuting them would appear to be wrong, so they may enjoy equal rights with others. With these they have now gained control of the most powerful countries and they, this tiny community, have become a world power. We cannot fight them through brawn alone. We must use our brains also.

THE ISLAMISTS NEED NONE OF the fancy extenuations offered by certain European and American intellectuals. For they have a direct link with anti-Semitism going all the way back to the Nazis. Mahathir's anti-Semitic pronouncement was not simply triggered by frustration with the lack of development in Islamic countries, or by rage at American and Israeli policies, or by some deep-seated traditional Muslim anti-Semitism. The analysis that he presented reflects, rather, the continuing impact of a relatively new and pernicious phenomenon, whose roots can be traced back to the foundation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928 and its success in launching Islamism as a mass movement. As the German political scientist Matthias Küntzel has recently shown in his book on "jihad and Jew-hatred", Islamism quickly became a primarily anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic movement that was greatly influenced by European anti-Semitism and directly influenced by Nazism. Indeed, as anti-Semitism lost its impetus as a revolutionary political movement in Europe in the wake of World War II, it was transplanted to the Middle East and from there to other parts of the Muslim world.

This development was responsible for the slaughter of Daniel Pearl in Pakistan, which was explicitly anti-Semitic in its motivation. The reluctance of the Western media to concede that Pearl was not murdered as an American, a journalist, a "spy," or as someone who might have uncovered connections between the Pakistani secret service and Al Qaeda, but first and foremost as a Jew—in what was after all a highly ritualized act of killing recorded on videotape—merely manifests the embarrassment that European and American observers feel upon discovering that one of the dirtiest "secrets" of Christian civilization has been so seamlessly transplanted into the Islamic world. After all, it is more difficult to empathize with the plight of those who are still largely victims of Western economic exploitation if they turn out to be led by murderous bigots flaunting slogans that recall Europe's own genocidal past.

BUT THE MOST EXPLICIT AND frightening link between Hitler's anti-Semitism and the contemporary wave of violence, hatred, paranoia, and conspiracy theories can be found, first, in the testimony given by the perpetrators of the September 11 terrorist attacks, and, second, in the official charter of the Palestinian Hamas movement.

As Küntzel writes, citing the Reuters reporter Christian Eggers, during the trial of Mounir el Motassadeq, a core member of the Al Qaeda cell in Hamburg that planned the attacks of September 11, the motivation of the perpetrators was amply documented, but the media have not reported much of what was said at the trial, which took place in Hamburg, Germany, between October 2002 and February 2003. The witness Shahid Nickels, a member of Mohammed Atta's core group, insisted that "Atta's worldview was based on a National Socialist way of thinking. He was convinced that 'the Jews' are determined to achieve world domination. He considered New York City to be the center of world Jewry, which was, in his opinion, Enemy Number One." Nickels said that Atta's group was "convinced that Jews control the American government as well as the media and the economy of the United States... that a worldwide conspiracy of Jews exists... [that] America wants to dominate the world so that Jews can pile up capital."

Similarly, the witness Ahmed Maglad, who participated in the group's meetings, testified that "for us, Israel didn't have any right to exist as a state.... We believed ... the USA ... to be the mother of Israel." And Ralf Götsche, who shared the student dormitory with Motassadeq, testified that the accused had said: "What Hitler did to the Jews was not at all bad," and commented that "Motassadeq's attitude was blatantly anti-Semitic."

THERE IS A HISTORY TO SUCH statements, which connects the anti-Semitism of Al Qaeda members planning mass murder in Hamburg in the 1990s to the anti-Semitism of Hitler fantasizing about mass murder in Munich in the 1920s. It is not difficult to find. The charter of the Hamas movement, issued in 1988 as the fundamental document of this Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, must be read to be believed. It contains, among its fundamentalist Islamic preachings, the most blatant anti-Semitic statements made in a publicly available document since Hitler's own pronouncements. Citing an array of Islamic sources, Hamas promises that "Israel will rise and will remain erect until Islam eliminates it as it had eliminated its predecessors." The Islamic Resistance Movement has "raised the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors in order to extricate the country and the people from the [oppressors'] desecration, filth and evil." The Prophet, remember, said that "the time will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews (and kill them); until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry: O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, come on and kill him!" Here there is no talk of compromise or reconciliation. The document states plainly that "the so-called peaceful solutions, and the international conferences to resolve the Palestinian problem, are all contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement. For renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion.... The initiatives, proposals, and International Conferences are but a waste of time, an exercise in futility."

The opposition expressed by Hamas

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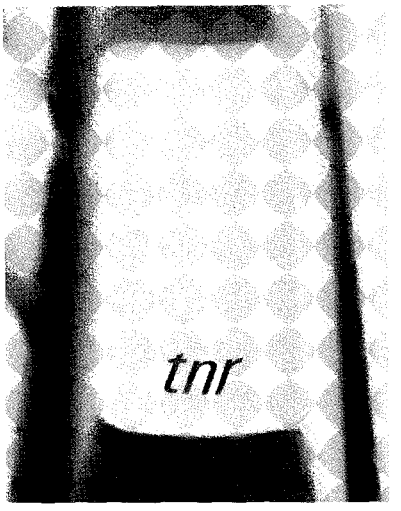
to any compromise over Palestine is also intimately linked with its view of the Jewish-Zionist enemy. These enemies, according to the charter,

> have been scheming for a long time.... They accumulated a huge and influential material wealth ... [which] permitted them to take over control of the world media such as news agencies, the press, publication houses, broadcasting and the like. [They also used this] wealth to stir revolutions in various parts of the globe, in order to fulfill their interests and pick the fruits. They stood behind the French and the Communist Revolutions and behind most of the revolutions we hear about here and there. They also used the money to establish clandestine organizations which are spreading around the world, in order to destroy societies and carry out Zionist interests. Such organizations are: the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, B'nai B'rith and the like. All of them are destructive spying organizations. They also used the money to take over control of the Imperialist states and made them colonize many countries in order to exploit the wealth of those countries and spread their corruption therein ... they stood behind World War I ... and took control of many sources of wealth. They obtained the Balfour Declaration and established the League of Nations in order to rule the world.... They also stood behind World War II, where they collected immense benefits from trading with war materials and prepared for the establishment of their state. They inspired the United Nations and the Security Council ... in order to rule the world.... There was no war that broke out anywhere without their fingerprints on it.... The forces of Imperialism in both the Capitalist West and the Communist East support the enemy with all their might, in material and human terms....

This international Jewish conspiracy to take over the world has also a moral goal. For, as this document goes on to say, the "secret organizations" working for Zionism "strive to demolish societies, to destroy values, to wreck answerableness, to totter virtues and to wipe out Islam." Zionism "stands behind the diffusion of drugs and toxics of all kinds in order to facilitate its control and expansion." To be sure, Hamas has its own expansionist goals, for it plans to control the entire region of the Middle East, promising in turn "safety and security ... for the members of the three religions" as long as they agree to live "under the shadow of Islam." But Hamas "is only hostile to those who are hostile towards it, or stand in its way in order to disturb its moves or to frustrate its efforts" to dominate the region. Meanwhile "Zionist scheming has no end, and after Palestine they will covet expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates.... Their scheme has been laid out in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their present [conduct] is the best proof of what is said there." Hitler could not have put it better.

So Hitler is dead, but there is a Hitlerite quality to the new anti-Semitism, which now legitimizes not only opposition to Zionism but also the resurrection of the myth of Jewish world domination. And those who foolishly think that doing away with Israel, not least in a "one-state solution," would remove anti-Semitism had better look more closely at the language of these enemies. For they—I mean the enemies—insist that the Jews are everywhere, and so they must be uprooted everywhere. Their outpost may be Israel, but their "power center" is in America, and their synagogues and intellectuals are in Germany and France, and their academics are in Russia and Britain. Since they are the cause of all evil and misfortune, the world will be a happier place without them, whether it is dominated by the Aryan Master Race or by the ideological soldiers of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Hitler taught humanity an important lesson. It is that when you see a Nazi, a fascist, a bigot, or an anti-Semite, say what you see. If you want to justify it or excuse it away, describe accurately what it is that you are trying to excuse away. If a British newspaper publishes an anti-Semitic cartoon, call it anti-Semitic. If the attacks on the Twin Towers were animated by anti-Semitic arguments, say so. If a Malaysian prime minister expresses anti-Semitic views, do not try to excuse the inexcusable. If a self-proclaimed liberation organization calls for the extermination of the Jewish state, do not pretend that it is calling for anything else. The absence of clarity is the beginning of complicity. ■



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EARTH DIARIST

Rational Exuberance

IT'S HARD NOT TO SCOFF AT THE president's call for a return to the moon, Mars, and "beyond" if for nothing other than its political transparency. The president's sudden dose of the vision thing immediately endeared him to the thousands of aerospace workers in Florida, while costing him almost nothing before he leaves office. But, despite its narrow opportunism, the president's plan is important, because it thrusts the prospect of a manned mission to Mars back into the public sphere.

ONE OBJECTION TO A MANNED MISSION to Mars is that robotic craft could do the job just as well at a fraction of the cost—a compelling argument as we watch the *Spirit* rover successfully bound (or rather inch) over the surface of the Red Planet. On January 10, *The Washington Post*'s editors wrote, "The success of NASA's latest Mars venture has proved the worth of unmanned missions, while manned space flight is exorbitantly expensive." The *Los Angeles Times* approvingly quoted physicist and space guru James Van Allen as saying that we could explore Mars with robots "at far less cost and far greater quantity and quality of results." Or, as Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, bluntly summed it up, "There's no real rationale for a manned space program."

SPACE-TRAVEL ENTHUSIASTS HAVE ALways had trouble explaining why men must accompany their machines to other planets. As Hermann Oberth, a pioneer of rocketeering, observed, "For those who have never known the relentless urge to explore and discover, there is no answer. For those who have felt this urge, the answer is self-evident." In their attempt to articulate that urge, proponents of space travel often resort to platitudes. Last year, for example, after the shuttle *Columbia* disintegrated on reentry, President Bush said, "Mankind is led into the darkness beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery and the longing to understand. Our journey into space will go on." Such sentiments do nothing to sway Mars skeptics. As Anne Applebaum of *The Washington Post* asked in a January 7 column, "But why should it go on? Or at least why should the human travel part of it go on?" When Applebaum received a slew of angry e-mails from Mars buffs, she noted derisively that "most contained no rational arguments whatsoever. Instead, they cited the 'religious awe' that space travel inspires, or the 'human quest to explore and discover.' "

APPLEBAUM MISTAKENLY ASSUMES THAT the benefits of a manned trip to Mars must be tangible if they are to be "rational." But it doesn't take a historian to know that the benefits of exploration are often impossible to forecast, nor does it take a philosopher to understand that those benefits can be affective, as well as cognitive. Exploration is valuable precisely because it is a "quest" that evokes "awe," precious not only for its visceral thrill but for the perspective it proffers. It forces us to question the future of our race, the maturation of civilization, and the reason for human existence. Such questions may seem indulgent, even silly, when contrasted with the immediate, practical demands of daily life, but that does not make them less important. If we do not ask them, we lose the opportunity to transcend the current and the mundane and imagine what we want the future to hold.

IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW JUST HOW much a manned mission to Mars would cost, but it is certain to run into the hundreds of billions of dollars. And, since ours is a world of competing priorities, we must ask, even of a concept as lofty as transcendence, is it worth it? The biggest obstacle here is less finding the money—in just the last few years, such sums have been "found" for two wars, prescription drugs for seniors, and repeated upper-bracket tax cuts—than it is combating the idea that such sums would be better spent on Earth. Powerful as it is, that argument is flawed. There will always be domestic priorities that could take precedence. A recent Tom Toles cartoon in the *Post*, for instance, showed a little girl in a wheelchair asking, "They're spending *how much* so a man can walk on Mars?" But, even though few government programs can truly stand up to the little-girl-in-a-wheelchair test, that hardly means they're irresponsible. We spend $137 million per year for the National Endowment for the Humanities, $604 million on the Smithsonian Institution, and $1.6 billion for National Park operations. We spend this money on things other than health care, anti-poverty efforts, and education not because those are unimportant, but because the extension of life cannot be all that life is, the eradication of economic poverty must not impoverish us intellectually, and education must extend well outside the classroom. Why go to Mars now? Is there really a pressing need? That all depends on whether you think the purpose of government—indeed, of civilization—is simply to make sure we get through the day for as many days as possible, or whether it is time to reach for something a bit more ambitious.

IT IS TRUE THAT HUMANS "EXPLORE" in many ways, and plenty of scientists examine the cosmos and the very nature of reality itself without taking their feet off the ground. But it is also true that information is not the same thing as experience. The very tactility of discovery, as opposed to simple knowledge, is part of what makes it vital. Last September, I drove to rural Virginia, where a group of amateur astronomers had gathered their telescopes to glimpse Mars during its closest approach to Earth in 60,000 years. With the naked eye, the planet was only a dot in the sky, vaguely orange but scarcely different from your average star. But, viewed through a telescope, the planet assumed character. A blurry white covered one tip—the southern polar cap—and a dark splotch marred its upper left: a dust storm. Watching the weather on another planet live and in color, I was—there is no other word—awed. In a society where "searching" now all too often refers to a trip to Google.com, such awe is sorely lacking. If we abandon our search for it, we condemn ourselves to a future of seeing things we have already seen, touching things we have already touched, going places we have already been. A manned mission to the Red Planet, then, is nothing less than a mission to rescue our appreciation for novelty and all that it inspires. After all, whoever said there's nothing new under the sun had obviously never been to Mars.

J. PETER SCOBLIC

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The Scientific Basis of Teaching Reading

Herbert J. Walberg is a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution; a member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; and University Scholar and research professor emeritus of education and psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Because learning in most subjects depends on reading skills, reading proficiency can be considered the most important goal in the early grades. Yet a National Assessment of Educational Progress survey shows that only 29 percent of fourth graders are proficient in reading. **Children who fall substantially behind in reading in the early grades are unlikely to catch up**—meaning that the process of dropping out of high school often starts in the early years.

The problem is more acute for children who live in poverty. By age four, poor children are exposed to about thirteen million words used by their parents, mostly in simple sentences, whereas the affluent child is exposed to about forty-five million words, often in more complex sentences.

Researchers have synthesized a great number of control-group studies that reveal scientific principles for effectively teaching reading. Preschoolers, for example, benefit greatly from talking with and receiving coaching from their parents, from whom they learn vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and a general knowledge of the world. Their parents and teachers can also foster sound and letter recognition, knowledge of how letters combine to form sounds, and "decoding," or sounding out words.

After mastering these elements, students need sufficient practice to gain fluency and meaningful oral reading. If fourth graders are still struggling with sounding out words, and if they need a tongue between their teeth to remember the sound blend of "th," they are unlikely to enjoy reading and thrive academically. The more students read out loud and to themselves, the more they build their fluency as well as their vocabulary and the knowledge to understand new texts.

As readers progress, they learn "comprehension strategy"—the identification of questions or purposes—to guide their reading and measure their progress. They need explicit instruction in how to skim material for a quick overview or to find a given fact or idea, but they also need to learn to read a poem or scientific passage reflectively, intensively, and perhaps repeatedly until they have a deep and thorough understanding. Skilled readers have learned to adapt such methods to their purposes and to look for milestones of their progress.

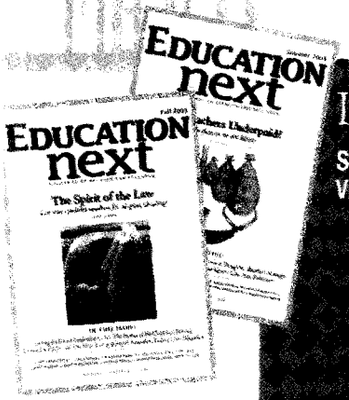
Wise teachers know the inefficiency of teaching students things they already know and things they are not yet able to learn. Parents, teachers, and students themselves can make reading time more efficient by choosing material that is sufficiently but not overly challenging. Moreover, choosing material that is inherently interesting for particular students may enhance motivation.

Finally, students need to know how they are progressing. Conversations with teachers and parents, classroom discussions and quizzes, and formal examinations can provide useful information about students' mastery of texts and the strengths and weaknesses of their specific reading skills.

Each of these principles has an excellent record of fostering skilled, masterful reading. **If all children were afforded the scientific principles for effectively teaching reading, perhaps nine in ten rather than three in ten would be proficient readers by fourth grade**, and we could expect their success to show in later grades and in high school completion rates.

— Herbert J. Walberg

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University



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